University of Madras.

DRAVIDIC STUDIES

No. II.

THE PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL TERMINATIONS OF THE FIRST PERSON IN DRAVIDIAN

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SECTION I.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN IN THE VARIOUS DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

TAMIL.

[*References*—

(1) Tolkāppiyam.	Peyariyal, sūtra 164. Urupial, sūtras 188 and 192. Viṉaiyiyal, sūtras 204 and 205.
(2) Vīracōḻiyam ...	Kriyā, sūtras 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10.
(3) Naṉṉūl ...	Peyariyal, sūtras 285 and 294. Viṉaiyiyal, sūtras 331 and 33.]

The Nominative First Personal Pronoun.

According to the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest Tamil grammar, *yāṉ* is the first person singular, and *yām* and *nām* are the first person plurals. There is no mention in the Tolkāppiyam of *nāṉ* as the first person singular.

Nāṉ appears for the first time in the literature of the eighth or ninth century. It is found most commonly in the writings of the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava saints who mostly adopted the words of popular speech in their writings. In the Tiruvācakam it is the common first personal singular form. In the Vīracōḻiyam, Vēṟṟumaippaṭalam, stanza 9, and also in the Naṉṉūl, sūtra 283, *nāṉ* is mentioned as a first personal singular pronoun. The mention of *nām* (the plural of *nāṉ*) in the Tolkāppiyam and the late appearance of *nāṉ* as its singular—in the eighth or ninth century literature and later—make us conclude that even *nāṉ* was current in popular speech long before it became literary.

The double plurals *nāṅkaḷ* and *yāṅkaḷ* are found as early as the Cīvakacintāmaṇi period (vide stanzas 1763 and 1793). In the Naṉṉūl there is, however, no mention of these double plurals.

Thus: Old Tamil has *yā<u>n</u>* for the singular and *yām* and *nām* for the plural. Mid. Tamil has *yā<u>n</u>* and *nā<u>n</u>* for the singular and *yām* and *nām* for the plural. Modern Tamil recognizes only *nā<u>n</u>* as its singular and *nām* and *nāṅkaḷ* as its plurals.

N.B.—In all periods of Tamil literature poets had the licence of using even obsolete forms of words: e.g., in some of the Modern Tamil publications we find *yā<u>n</u>* and *yām* used as the first person singular and plural, respectively.

The Oblique Base.

The Tolkāppiyam, Urupial, sūtras 188 and 192, gives *e<u>n</u>-* as the oblique of *yā<u>n</u>*, *em-* as the oblique of *yām*, and *nam-* as the oblique of *nām*. This is confirmed by the Vīracōḻiyam, Vē<u>rr</u>umaippaṭalam, sūtra 7. In the Na<u>nn</u>ūl, sūtra 249, the same forms are given; but it is also stated in sūtra 294 that *nā<u>n</u>* is only nominative and has no oblique base. The oblique forms recognized by grammars are (1) *e<u>n</u>-* (singular), (2) *em-* and *nam-* (plurals).

The oblique base *eṅkaḷ-* is modern.

The Verbal Suffixes.

The Tolkāppiyam (Old Tamil)—
First person singular: *-e<u>n</u>, -ē<u>n</u>, -al.*
Do. plural: *-em, -ēm, -am, -ām.*

N.B.— *-al* is used only in the future.

The Vīracōḻiyam (Mid. Tamil)—
First person singular: *-ē<u>n</u>.*
Do. plural: *-ēm, -ōm.*

N.B.—In the future tense *-e<u>n</u>* also is used (Vīracōḻiyam, Kriyā, sūtra 8). *-a<u>n</u>* and *-al* are also used only in the future tense.

The Na<u>nn</u>ūl (New Tamil)—
First person singular: *-e<u>n</u>, -ē<u>n</u>, -a<u>n</u>, -al.*
Do. plural: *-em, -ēm, -am, -ām, -ōm.*

In Modern Tamil *-ē<u>n</u>* (singular) and *-ōm* (plural) are the only terminations that are in actual use. The rest are archaic. The Na<u>nn</u>ūl evidently mixes up archaic and current forms.

To sum up—

(1) *-ē<u>n</u>* is one of the old verbal suffixes and is the standard first person singular verbal suffix in Modern Tamil.

(2) *-ōm* is found only in Mid. Tamil and Modern Tamil and is the standard first person plural in New Tamil.

(3) *-e<u>n</u>, -al, -a<u>n</u>* first person singular suffixes are old. *-a<u>n</u>* is found in Mid. Tamil. All these are archaic in Modern Tamil.

(4) *-a<u>n</u>* and *-al* are found mostly in the future tense of verbs.

(5) *-eṉ* is not found in modern literature. 'யாஹு. நின்றனென்' (Rāmāyaṇam, paḷḷi, 72) is a rare use. But in the spoken dialect it is very commonly found when the stress is thrown on the base and not on the termination : e.g.—

(i) *Nāṉ vantéṉ*, 'I came'; but (ii) *Nāṉ vánteṉ.*

Note on the Inclusive and Exclusive First Personal Pronouns.

In the commentaries written on the sūtras of the Tolkāppiyam and in the Naṉṉūl, we find that a differentiation is made in the function of the different first personal plural pronouns. *Nām* is regarded by the commentators of the Tolkāppiyam as an 'inclusive' pronoun, that is, as including the persons spoken to. The verbal suffixes that correspond to this pronoun are *-am* and *-ām*. *Yām* is considered as an 'exclusive' pronoun, that is to say, it does not include the person or persons spoken to. The verbal suffixes that correspond to this pronoun are *-em* and *-ēm*. The author of the Naṉṉūl includes in this class the Mid. and New Tamil suffix *-ōm*.

To sum up—

Nām, *-am* and *-ām* are inclusive, and *yām*, *-em*, *-ēm* and *-ōm* are exclusive.

This distinction, however, is not found in the text of the Tolkāppiyam. In the Vīracōḻiyam too there is no reference at all to it. Further, a close study of the Tirukkuṟaḷ, the oldest of the published Tamil literary works, shows that such a distinction was not existent in the time of Tiruvaḷḷuvar: e.g., beside *yām iṉṉam* (790) and *yām uḍaiyam* (844) we have *yām iruntēm* (1312) and *yām uḷēm* (1204). Thus with *yām* are used both *-am* and *-ēm*. Again, *kātalam* (1314) is paraphrased as *kātalai uṭaiyēm* by Parimēlaḻakar. Similarly *piṟiyalam* = *piṟiyēm* (1315) *eṇṇuvam* = *eṇṇakkaṭavēm* (467). *Yām* occurs in the Kuṟaḷ fifteen times, but *nām* only once.

This distinction is found for the first time in the Naṉṉūl; and in the grammatical notes of the commentators of the Tolkāppiyam. It does not seem at any time to have been observed very strictly.

Further a comparative study of the other Dravidian languages shows that Kanarese, Gōṇḍī and Brāhūī possess only one form for 'we.'

Hence it seems reasonable to infer that in Primitive Dravidian this distinction was not at all existent. Doctor Grierson says: "From these facts it seems necessary to infer that the original Dravidian language had not developed a double plural of this pronoun . . . The use of the double

plural can accordingly be due to a tendency which has been adopted from a different family, and if that be the case, we can only think of the Muṇḍā languages, where there is a similar set of dual and plural forms of the personal pronoun of the first person" (Linguistic Survey, IV, pages 293 and 294).

While, therefore, it seems to be certain that Primitive Dravidian had no such distinction as that between 'inclusive' and 'exclusive', it must nevertheless remain for the present a puzzle how it was that an uncultivated foreign dialect like the Muṇḍā was able to influence a highly cultivated language like Tamil or Telugu.

MALAYĀḶAM.

[*References*—

(1) Kēraḷa-Pāṇinīyam, sūtras 109, 239 and 240.

(2) Gundert's catechism of Malayāḷam Grammar, articles 87, 88 and 126.

(3) Gundert's Malayāḷam Grammar (second edition, 1868), articles 120, 121, 197 to 208.

(4) L. J. Frohnmeyer's Malayāḷam Grammar, article 56, pages 254 and 287.

(5) Seshagiri Prabhu's Vyākaraṇa-mitran, article 134.]

The Nominative First Personal Pronoun.

Malayāḷam has for the first person singular *ñān* [ɲæ̃:n]. This form is not found in any other language. Doctor Gundert (in article 121 in his bigger Grammar of the Malayāḷam language) says that *yān* is found in Rāmacaritram, 51.

The plurals of *ñān* are—

(1) *Nām* [n:˜m] and *nōm*, (2) *nammaḷ*, (3) *ñāṅṅaḷ* [ɲæ̃:ŋŋᵊḷ], *ñaṅṅaḷ* and *eṅṅaḷ*.

Of these plurals *ñāṅṅaḷ*, *ñaṅṅaḷ* and *eṅṅaḷ* are double plural forms, formed by the addition of the neuter plural suffix *kaḷ* to the pronominal plural suffix *m*; cf. Tamil *nāṅkaḷ* = *nām* + *kaḷ*. *m* + *k* > *ṅk* in Tamil and *ṅṅ* in Malayāḷam (vide my thesis on Nasal plus Consonant). There is a difference in the function of *nām* and *ñāṅṅaḷ*; *nām* is an 'inclusive' pronoun, that is to say, it includes the party spoken to, while *ñāṅṅaḷ* excludes them.

Nām is more literary than *nōm*, *nammaḷ* and *eṅṅaḷ* are considered colloquial.

Ñāṅṅaḷ is an old honorific plural (vide Gundert's Malayāḷam Dictionary, page 411). *Nām* and *nōm* are also used as honorific plurals.

The common first person plural *ñaṅṅaḷ* and the vulgar *eṅṅaḷ* and also *nammaḷ* have the base vowel short through the influence of oblique forms (cf. Tuḷu *nama* and *yeṅkuḷu*).

The Oblique Base.

First person singular: *en-*.
Do. plural: *nam-* and *ñaṅṅaḷ-*.

The Verbal Pronominal Suffixes.

Malayāḷam verbs represent the oldest stage of development of the Dravidian verb, a stage when the participles were themselves used as finite verbs without any distinction of person or number. In Old Tamil, we find a similar state of affairs.

In Old Malayāḷam poetry, however, we find often the pronominal suffixes used: *-ēn* is the singular first person suffix, and *-ōm* is the plural suffix. *-an* is the first person singular suffix in the case of future verbs (vide Seshagiri Prabhu's Vyākaraṇa-mitran, article 134).

KANARESE.

[*References*—

(1) Karnāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇam, sūtras 92 to 94.
(2) Śabdānuśāsana, 287, 288, 442 and 443.
(3) Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, 146, 147 and 217.
(4) Kittel's Grammar of the Kannaḍa Language, pages 74, 75 and 76.]

The oldest form of the first person singular in Kanarese is *ān* and that of the plural is *ām*. The sūtra 92 in the Karnāṭaka-Bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇam and the sūtra 288 in the Śabdānuśāsana give only *ān* and *ām* as the singular and plural forms. But in the commentary to sūtra 288 in the Śabdānuśāsana it is mentioned that *nānu*, *nāmu* and the oblique *nan-* and *nam-* are also found in ancient poets. According to Kittel, the plural *nāvu* < *nāmu* is the first to appear and is found in a Śāsana of A.D. 1181. The form *nānu* is found in the Mid. Kanarese period, that is to say, after the twelfth century. From these it seems to be clear that *ān* and *ām* were the oldest forms in Kanarese and *nānu* and *nāmu* (> *nāvu*) which were originally only popular forms gradually came to replace *ān* and *ām* from the twelfth century onwards.

The double plural *āṃgaḷ* is also found in the Old Kanarese dialect. Very likely it is a late form in Old Kanarese as it is not referred to in the Karnāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇam and the Śabdānuśāsana and also it may have been looked upon only

as a popular form. It is mentioned only in the Mūḍabidaru manuscript of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. We have no traces of it anywhere else.

The change of *m* into *v* in *āmu* and *nāmu* is a characteristic feature of Kanarese. Cf. *nīmu* > *nīvu* (you), *tāmu* > *tāvu* (themselves) (vide Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, article 104).

The Oblique Base.

The first person singular oblique in Old and Mid. Kanarese is *en-*, and its plural is *em-*.

In New Kanarese we find *nan-* as the singular, and *nam-* as its plural.

The Verbal Suffixes.

		First person.	
		Singular.	Plural.
Old Kanarese	...	*-en*	*-em*
Mid. Kanarese	...	*-en, -enu, -e*	*-evu*
New Kanarese	...	*-enu, -e, -ēnu*	*-evu, -ivi, -ēvi*

N.B.—(1) In Old Kanarese singular *-en* is written *-en* before vowels and *-em* otherwise.

(2) In Old Kanarese, the plural *-em* is *-em* if not followed by a vowel; otherwise it is *-evu*, *m* > *v*.

(3) The forms *-ēnu*, *-ēne*, *-ēvu*, *-ēve* are emphatic Modern Kanarese forms.

TULU.

[*References*—

(1) Brigel's Grammar of the Tuḷu Language, pages 33-39 and 45 to 110.

(2) Manner's Tuḷu-English Dictionary.]

Tuḷu has *yānu* to denote the first person singular; cf. this with Tamil *yāṉ*. The plural of *yānu* is *yeṅkuḷu*. There is also another plural *nama*.

Both *yeṅkuḷu* and *nama* are derived from the oblique base *yem-* and *nam-*. Hence the base-vowels of *yeṅkuḷu* and *nama* are short. *yeṅkuḷu* is a double plural in form, *-kuḷu* being added to the plural base *yem-*.

The plural *nama* has an inclusive meaning while *yeṅkuḷu* has an exclusive meaning.

The influence of the oblique base on the nominative form is seen in the plural of the second person and the reflexive pronoun. We have in Tuḷu *nikuḷu* beside *niṅkaḷ* in Tamil (= you); *tanukuḷu* (themselves) in Tuḷu beside *tāṅkal* in Tamil.

The Oblique Base.

The first person singular oblique base in Tuḷu is *yen-*, and its plurals are *eṅkuḷ-* and *nam-*.

The Verbal Suffixes.

The singular first person suffix is *-e* and the plural is *-a*.

[The *e* of the first person singular is pronounced as [æ] (vide Brigel's Grammar of the Tuḷu Language, page 47).]

TELUGU.

[*References*—

(1) Arden's Telugu Grammar, sections 168, 172, 177, 181 to 201 and 772.

(2) Bālavyākaraṇamu, section 24, pages 59 and 60.]

The forms of the first person found in the Telugu Bhāratam are :—*ēnu* and *nēnu*, singulars, and *ēmu*, *nēmu* and *mēmu* and also *manamu* plurals. Of these the modern forms are :—*nēnu* singular and *mēmu* and *manamu* plurals.

In the Mahā-Bhāratam the common first person plural form is *ēmu*. *Nēmu* is next in order of frequency. *Mēmu* is a rare form in the Bhāratam. *Manamu* too is found in the Bhāratam, but it has a meaning different from that of *ēmu* or *nēmu*. It is an inclusive plural form.

In Modern Telugu too this difference is observed. *Mēmu* excludes and *manamu* includes the persons addressed.

[*Mēmu* < *nēmu* by complete assimilation of the initial *n* to the final nasal *m*.]

Manamu is very likely a confusion of two forms. *Ma-* and *nam-*, both oblique forms. *Ma-* is from *mā-*, and *nam-* is the oblique of *nām*.

The Oblique Base (Arden, page 323).

The first person singular has two oblique bases, (1) *nā-* which is the base for all cases except the accusative, (2) *nan-*, the oblique of the accusative case.

Similarly, in the plural we have two bases, (1) *mā-* and (2) *mam-* (accusative). We have also a third plural oblique base in Modern Telugu, i.e., *mana-*.

Examples : nākun (dative), but *nanun* and *nannun*.
mākun (dative), but *mamun* and *mammun*.

We have also *manakun* and *manalan*.

The Verbal Pronominal Suffixes.

The first personal singular suffixes are—

(1) Present progressive, *-ānu*, e.g., *vaṇḍucunnānu*.

(2) Past, *-in*, *-ini*, e.g.—
vaṇḍitin (Old Telugu).
vaṇḍitini (New Telugu).
(3) Future, *-an*, e.g., *vaṇḍaṅgalan*.
(4) Indefinite, *-un*, e.g., *vaṇḍudun*.

The first personal plural suffixes are—
(1) Present progressive *-āmu*, e.g., *vaṇḍucunnāmu*.
(2) Past, *-imi*, e.g., *vaṇḍitimi*.
(3) Future, *-amu*, e.g., *vaṇḍaṅgalamu*.
(4) Indefinite, *-umu*, e.g., *vaṇḍudumu*.

N.B.—Modern Telugu has also *-ānu* and *-āmu*, e.g., *vaṇḍinānu* and *vaṇḍināmu*.

Minor Dialects.

(1) *Korava*.

[*Reference*—Linguistic Survey, Vol. IV, pages 318 to 320.]

(*a*) Nominative first person singular is *nā*, *nānu*.
Do. plural is *nāga*.
(*b*) Oblique first person singular is *nan-*.
Do. plural is *naṅgaḷa-*.
(*c*) First person singular verbal termination is *-ē* (*-i*).
First person singular verbal termination is *-ō*.

(2) *Kaikāḍi*.

[*Reference*—Linguistic Survey, Vol. IV, pages 333 to 335.]

(*a*) Nominative first person singular is *nā*, *nān*.
Do. plural is *nāṅg*.
(*b*) Oblique first person singular is *nān-*.
Do. plural is *nāṅgaḷa-*.
(*c*) Verbal suffix first person singular is *-ē* (*-ī*, *-i*).
Do. plural is *-ō* (*-ū*).

(3) *Toḍa*.

[*Reference*—Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, page 364.]

(*a*) Nominative first person singular: *ān* [ɑ:n].
Do. plural: *ām*, *ōm*, *ēm*.
(*b*) Oblique first person singular: *en-*.
Do. plural: *em-*, *am-*, *nam-*.
(*c*) Verbal suffix first person singular: *-e*.
Do. plural: *-ēme*, *-eme-*.

(4) *Kurukh*.

[*Reference*—Linguistic Survey, Vol. IV, pages 413 to 417.]

(*a*) Nominative first person singular: *ēn*.
Do. plural: *ēm* and *nām*.

(*b*) Oblique first person singular : *eṅg-*.
Do. plural : *em-* and *nam-*.

(*c*) Verbal suffix first person singular : *-an* (mas.). *-ēn* (fem.) *-on* (future).

Do. plural : *-ām* (mas.). *-ēm* (fem.). *-om* (future).

(5) *Malto.*

[*Reference*—Linguistic Survey, Vol. IV, pages 452 and 453.]

(*a*) Nominative first person singular : *ēn*.
Do. plural : *ēm*.

(*b*) Oblique first person singular : *eṅg-*.
Do. plural : *em-* and *nam-*.

(*c*) Verbal suffix first person singular : *-in* or *-en*.
Do. plural : *-em* or *-im*.

(6) *Kui.*

[*Reference*—Linguistic Survey, Vol. IV, pages 462 and 463.]

(*a*) Nominative first person singular : *ānu*.
Do. plural : *āmu* and *āju*.

(*b*) Oblique first person singular : *nan-*, *nā-* (gen.).
Do. plural : *man-* (acc.), *mā-* (gen.).

(*c*) Verbal suffix first person singular : *-ē*, *-ēnu*.
Do. plural : *-āmu*.

(7) *Gōṇḍi.*

[*Reference*—Linguistic Survey, Vol. IV, pages 472 to 488.]

(*a*) Nominative first person singular : *nànnā*, *annā*.
Do. plural : *mammaṭ*.

(*b*) Oblique first person singular : *nā-*.
Do. plural : *mā-*.

(*c*) Verbal suffix first person singular : *-an*, *-a*.
Do. plural : *-om*, *-o*.

(8) *Brāhūi.*

[*Reference*—Linguistic Survey, Vol. IV, pages 619 to 630.]

(*a*) Nominative first person singular : *ī*.
Do. plural : *nan*.

(*b*) Oblique first person singular : *kan-*.
Do. plural : *nan-*.

(*c*) Verbal suffix first person singular : *-v*, *-t*.
Do. plural : *-n*.

Table I.

A. The First Personal Pronouns.

—	Tamil.	Malayāḷam.	Tuḷu.	Kanarese.	Kui (Orissa).	Kōlāmī.	Gōṇḍī.	Kurukh (Bengal).	Malto (Bengal).	Telugu.	Brāhūī.
Nominative: Singular.	O.T. *yāṉ* N.T. *yāṉ* (literary) *nāṉ*	*ñān*	*yānu*	O.K. *ān* Mid. K. *ānu* *nānu* N.K. *nānu*	*ānu*	*ān*	*nannā*	*ēn*	*ēn*	O. Te. *ēnu* *nēnu* N. Te. *nēnu*	*ī*
Plural.	O.T. *yām* *nām* N.T. *yām* (literary) *nām*	*ñāṅṅaḷ* *ñaṅṅaḷ* *eṅṅaḷ* *nammaḷ* *namma* *nām* *nōm*	*yeṅkuḍu* *nama*	O.K. *ām* (*nāvu* A.D.) 1181 Mid. K. *āvu* *nāvu* N.K. *nāvu*	*āmu*	*ām*	*mammāt*	*ēm* *nām* (inclusive)	*ēm* *nām* (inclusive)	O. Te. *ēmu* *nēmu* *mēmu* N. Te. *mēmu*	*nan*
Oblique: Singular.	*eṉ-*	*eṉ-*	*en-*	O.K. *en-* Mid. K. N.K. *nan-*	*nā-*	*an-*	*nā-*	*eṅg-*	*en-*	*nā-*	*kan-*
Plural.	*em-* *nam-*	*ñaṅṅaḷ-* *nām-*	*yeṅkuḷ-* *nam-*	O.K. *em-* Mid. K. *em-* (*ev-*) *nam-* N.K. *nam-*	*mā-*	*am-*	*mā-*	*em-* *nam-*	*em-* *nam-*	*mā-*	*nan-*

B. Verbal Terminations of the First Person.

—	Tamil.	Malayāḷam.	Tuḷu.	Kanarese.	Kui (Orissa).	Kōlāmī.	Gōṇḍī.	Kurukh (Bengal).	Malto (Bengal).	Telugu.	Brāhūī.
Singular.	O.T. *-eṉ* *-ēṉ* *-al* Mid. T. *-eṉ*, *-ēṉ*, *-aṉ-* (future) N.T. *-ēṉ*	O.M. -ēn *-en* (future) *-an* (future) N. Mal. (*nil*)	*-e* (*-i*)	O.K. *-en* Mid K. *-enu*, *-e* N.K. *-enu*, *-e*, *-ēnu*	*-ēnu* (future negative) *-ē* (past) *-ī* (future) also. *-ānu* (in nouns).	*-en* (negative) *-ān* *-ūn*	*-an* (imperfect and past). *-a*	*-an* *-en* (feminine) *-on* (future)	*-en* *-on* (optative)	M. Te. *-in i* (past) *-an* (future) *-ānu* (present progressive) *-imi*	*-v*, *-t*
Plural.	O.T. *-em*, *-ēm*, *-am*, *-ām* Mid. T. *-ēm* and *-ōm* N.T. *-ōm*	O. Mal. *-ōm* N. Mal. (*nil*)	*-a*	O.K. *-em* Mid. K. *-evu* N.K. *-evu* (*-ivi*) *-ēvi*	*-āmu*	*-ām*	*-om* *-am*	*-am* *-ēm* (feminine). *-om* (future).	*-em* *-om* (optative)	*-amu* *-āmu*	*-n*

References—

(1) Gōṇḍī Grammar, by H. D. Williamson.
(2) Kui Grammar, by Lingam Latchmaji.
(3) Kōlāmī, Linguistic Survey.
(4) Kurukh, by Ford Hahn.
(5) Malto, Linguistic Survey.
(6) Brāhūī, by Denys De Bray.

SECTION II.

THE QUALITY OF THE VOWEL OF THE BASE OF THE FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN IN PRIMITIVE DRAVIDIAN.

The Pronoun of the First Person Singular.

I. *Its form in the various Dravidian dialects*—

(*a*) In Old Tamil and Malayāḷam it is *yāṉ*.
In Tuḷu it is *yānu*.
In Old Kanarese and Kōlāmī it is *ān*.
In Mid. Kanarese and Kui it is *ānu*.
In Old Telugu it is *ēnu*.
In Kurukh and Malto it is *ēn*.

(*b*) New Tamil has, beside *yāṉ*, *nāṉ*.
Malayāḷam has *ñān* [ɲæ̃:n].
New Kanarese and Korava, a dialect of Tamil, have *nānu*.
New Telugu has *nēnu*.

(*c*) Gōṇḍī has *nannā* and *annā*.
Korava has, beside *nānu*, *nā*.
Kaikāḍi has, beside *nān*, *nā*.
Baḍaga has the plural *nām* for the singular.

From a careful study of the above the following inferences may be drawn :—

(1) The vowel of the base of the first person singular is *ā* in all the languages except Telugu, Kurukh and Malto where we have *ē*.

(2) The initial nasal as in *nāṉ*, *nēnu*, etc., is characteristic of the modern dialect of Tamil, Kanarese and Telugu.

Malayāḷam which is itself a dialect of Tamil has *ñ*.
Korava and Kaikāḍi, the uncultivated dialects of Tamil, and Baḍaga, the uncultivated hill dialect of Kanarese, have also the initial *n*.

(3) All the dialects have the pronominal singular suffix *n*.

In Korava and Kaikāḍi it is occasionally lost.

The Pronoun of the First Person Plural.

II. The followingare the forms of this pronoun in the various Dravidian dialects :—

ā-types. (*a*) Old Tamil *yām*.
Old Kanarese and Kōlāmī *ām*.
Mid. Kanarese *āvu* (< *āmu*).
Kui *āmu*.

ā-types —cont.
(*b*) New Tamil *nām*.
Malayāḷam *nām*.
Kuru<u>kh</u> and Malto *nām*.
Tuḷu *nama*.

ē-types.
(*c*) Old Telugu *ēmu*.
Kuru<u>kh</u> and Malto *ēmu*.
(*d*) Old Telugu *nēmu*.
New Telugu *mēmu*.

(*e*) In Tamil and Malayāḷam we have double plurals: e.g., Tamil has *nāṅkaḷ* which is *nām* + *kaḷ*, *m* > *ṅ* before *k*. Malayāḷam has *ñāṅṅaḷ* [ɲæːŋŋəḷ], *ñaṅṅaḷ*, *eṅṅaḷ* and *nammaḷ*. The last three have short *a* through the influence of the oblique forms. In Tuḷu we have *yeṅkuḷu*.

From an examination of what is given above we are able to draw the same inferences as in the case of the first person singular—

(1) The vowel of the pronominal base is *ā* except in Telugu, Kuru<u>kh</u> and Malto in which languages it is *ē*.

In Tuḷu we have *e* in *yeṅkuḷu* and *a* in *nama*.

In Kuru<u>kh</u> and Malto we have also *ā* in *nām* (the inclusive pronoun).

Gōṇḍī has *mammaṭ* (we), thus showing *a* as the vowel of the base.

(2) The initial nasal in *nām*, *mēmu*, etc., is characteristic of modern dialects.

(3) *m* is the pronominal plural suffix in all languages.

III A study of the results of the examination of the various forms of the first person singular and plural in the different Dravidian dialects shows us clearly that—

(1) the vowel of the pronominal base oscillates between *ā* and *ē*,

(2) the forms with initial nasal are new and hence derived from old forms,

(3) hence the primitive base of the first personal pronoun is either *ā* or *ē* or some sound between the two.

IV. We have now to inquire as to which is the probable primitive Dravidian form of the vowel of the first personal pronoun.

(*a*) Can it be *ē*?

This seems to be improbable for two reasons—

(1) *Firstly*, the majority of the Dravidian languages have *ā* and not *ē* as the vowel of the pronominal base. Telugu, Kuru<u>kh</u> and Malto are the only languages that have *ē*. Even these show forms with *ā*. Kuru<u>kh</u> and Malto have *nām* beside *ēm*. Telugu, in the dialect of the common low-class people, has *nānu* for *nēnu*. This form *nānu* is found so far north as Vizagapatam and Gōdāvari.

(2) *Secondly*, Primitive Dravidian *ē*, in root accented syllables, is preserved in all the languages, whether it be initial or medial as is shown in the following tables I and II. In no case does it become *ā*.

Table I.

Primitive Dravidian ē *(initial).*

Telugu.	Tamil.	Malayāḷam.	Kanarese.	Tuḷu.
1. ēgu = to go ...	ēku ...	ēkuka ...	...	...
2. ēru = to attain age	ēṟu to rise	ēruka ...	ēṟu ...	ēru (to ascend)
3. ēḍu = seven ...	ēḻu ...	ēḻu ...	ēḻu, ēḷu ...	ēḷu
4. ēṇamu = an antelope.	ēṇam ...	...	ēṇa ...	...
5. ētamu = a water lift...	ēṟṟam ...	ēṟṟam (rise)	ēta ...	ēru (to ascend)
6. ēdu = a porcupine	ēṉam ...	..	ēdu ...	...
7. ēmaru = to be off one's guard	ēmaru ...	ēmāḷi (silly man)	...	...
8. ēru = a plough of two oxen	ēr ...	ēru ...	ēru kandāya (plough-tax)	...
9. ērpaḍu = to happen ...	ēṟpaḍu ...	...	ēṟpaḍisu (to arrange)	...
10. ēlaki = the Cardamom tree	ēlam ...	ēlam ..	ēlakki ...	ēlakki
11. ēlamu = auction ...	ēlam ...	...	ēlam ...	ēlamu
12. ēvamu = disgust	ēvam (fault)	...	ēva ...	...

Table II.

Primitive Dravidian ē *(medial).*

Tamil.	Malayāḷam.	Kanarese.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1. kēṭu = evil ...	kēṭu ...	kēḍu ...	kēḍu ...	kīḍu, cēṭu
2. tēkku = the teak ...	tēkku ...	tēgu ...	...	tēku, ṭēku
3. tēṭṭai = clearness ...	..	tēṭe ...	tēṭu ...	tēṭa.
4. tēṉ = honey ...	tēn ...	jēnu ...	..	tēne, tēniya
5. tēr = a car ...	tēr ...	tēr ...	tēru ...	tēr
6. tēḷ = a scorpion ...	tēḷ ...	cēḷu ...	tēḷu ...	tēḷ
nēṟṟu = yesterday ...	...	...	...	nēḍu (today)
8. pētai = a poor man.	...	...	pēde (a peon?)	pēda
9. pēṉ = a louse ...	pēn ...	pēn ..	pēnu ...	pēnu
10. pēr = a name ...	pēr ...	...	...	pēru
11. mēl = superiority...	mēl ...	...	mēlu ...	mēlu
12. vēṭṭai = hunting ...	vēṭṭa ...	...	...	vēṭa
13. vēmpu = the margosa tree	vēmpu ...	bēvu ...	bēvu ...	vēmu
14. vēr = a root ...	vēr ...	...	bēru ..	vēru
15. cēri = a street ...	cēri ...	kēri ..	kēṟi ...	gēṟi

(*b*) Can the vowel of the Primitive Dravidian first person be *ā*?

This too is not at all probable; for Primitive Dravidian *ā* whether medial or initial in accented root syllables is regularly preserved in all the Dravidian languages as will be seen from the following table:—

TABLE III.

Primitive Dravidian ā *(initial).*

Tamil.		Malayāḷam.	Kanarese.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1. ā	= a cow ...	ā ...	āvu ...	...	āvu
2. āku	= to become ...	ākuka ...	...	ā pini ...	agu
3. āṭu	= to play ...	āṭu ...	āḍu ...	āḍu ...	āḍu
4. āṇi	= a nail ...	āṇi ...	āṇi	āṇi ...	āṇi
5. ār	= to be full ...	āru ...	āṛu (fullness)	āru ..	āru (to be full of)
6. ār̲u	= to be quenched	ār̲uka ...	āṛu ..	āṛuni ...	āṛu
	= six ...	ār̲u ..	āṛu ...	āji ...	āṛu
7. āvi	= breath ...	āvi ...	āvi ...	āli ...	āvi

Primitive Dravidian ā *(medial).*

Tamil.		Malayāḷam.	Kanarese.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1. kāṭu	= a forest ...	kāṭu ...	kāḍu ...	kāḍu ...	kāḍu
2. kāṇ	= to see ...	kāṇukā ...	kāṇ(u) ..	kāṇisā-vuni (to show)	kāṇu
3. kāṇi	= 1/64 ...	kāṇi ...	kāṇi ...	...	kāṇi
4. kāppu	= protection ..	kāppu ..	kāpu ...	kāpu ...	kāpu
5. kāy	= an unripe fruit	kāy ...	kāy ...	kāyi ...	kāya
	= to grow hot.	kāyuka ...	kāy ..	kāyuni ...	kāyu
6. kār	= a season ...	kār	kāru (a crop grown in the rainy season)	kāru .	kāru
7. kāram	= pungency ...	kāra ...	gāra ..	kāra ..	gāra

CONCLUSION.

Thus it is clear from what has been shown above that the root-vowel of the Primitive Dravidian first personal pronoun seems to have been neither *ā* nor *ē*, as both these sounds are preserved without change in all the Dravidian languages. Hence it must be a vowel between *ā* and *ē*. This vowel may be conveniently represented by *ǣ*.

A sound of this quality changes naturally into *ē* or *ā*. [Cf. Primitive Germanic *ǣ* > *ā* in W. Germanic and *ē* in E. Germanic.] Thus—

Pr. Drav. *ǣ* — *ǣ* > $_{y}$*ǣ* (written *yā*). Old Tamil and Tuḷu.
— *ē* Telugu, Kui and Malto.
— *ā* Kanarese, Kui and Kōlāmī.

N.B.—This sound *ǣ* is heard even to-day in the dialectal pronunciation of *nān̲*. It is also heard in the Malayāḷam *ñāṅṅaḷ* which is pronounced [ɲǣːŋŋəḷ]

NOTE I.—Old Tamil yā (= jæ:).

From a careful phonetic examination of the speech of the Tamil people, it is clear that whenever they pronounce an initial palatal vowel they regularly start this vowel with an enunciative palatal sound, namely, i̯ —or *y*, according to the system of transliteration adopted in this thesis. This *y* (=[j]) in international phonetic script) may be called a 'Vorschlag', to use a German expression. It is heard by European scholars in the Tamil pronunciation of *e, ē, i* or *ī*. The word 'Emden', for instance, is pronounced by the Tamils as '*yemden*'; the pronoun 'it' is '*yit*,' and so on. Hence in the system of transliteration adopted by European scholars to represent Dravidian sounds, we find *yĕ* for *ĕ* and *yĭ* for *ĭ* (vide Kittel's Kanarese Dictionary, Gundert's Malayāḷam Dictionary, Manner's Tuḷu Dictionary, Brown's Telugu Dictionary (old edition), etc.).

This enunciative 'Vorschlag' heard before *ĕ* or *ĭ* is inherent in the Tamil pronunciation of those vowels: and thus the Tamils know only one kind of initial *e, ē, i* or *ī*, namely, *ye, yē, yi* or *yī*. Hence they represent each of these sounds only by one symbol, e.g., எ, ஏ, இ, ஈ. We have therefore no symbol in Tamil or in any of the other Dravidian languages to represent the pure *e, ē, i* or *ī*. The Tamil-speakers themselves are not conscious, as both Doctor Collins and Professor Hunter point out, of the existence of this 'Vorschlag' in their speech, though it is heard by European scholars with a greater or less degree of clearness.

This phonetic peculiarity being found in all the Dravidian languages, must have been surely the characteristic feature of Old Tamil also. Now, if the base vowel of the Primitive Dravidian first personal pronoun was *ǣ* (i.e., an open *ē*-sound) as was proved above, then this sound was really *ʸǣ* [jæ:] in Old Primitive Tamil. And when *ʸǣ* had to be represented in writing a need must have been felt by the old Tamils to represent the Vorschlag *y*, in order that the vowel sound in *yǣ* might be distinguished from the ordinary back *ā*, for both of which they had only one symbol. Thus the Primitive Dravidian *ǣ* was pronounced *ʸǣ* by the old Tamils, but was represented by *yā*.

That the Primitive Tamil people did not invent a separate symbol for *æ* is not surprising at all. For in their phonetic consciousness *æ* was very near *ā* and could therefore be conveniently represented by the symbol for *ā*. Further the words with initial *ǣ*-sound in Primitive Dravidian were so few that the Tamil people thought it was not necessary to have a separate symbol for it; and the distinction in pronunciation between *ʸǣ* and *ā* was preserved, as they thought, by the

Vorschlag' *y* being represented in writing. Thus *yā* always stood in Old Tamil for *ʸǣ* and the 'Vorschlag' *y* clearly showed the difference between the pronunciation of *ā* (in *yā*) and the simple *ā* in the other words beginning with back *ā*.

To sum up—

The Old Tamil *yā* stands for *ʸǣ* which is but Primitive Dravidian *ǣ*. The *y* in *yā* represents the 'Vorschlag' heard in pronouncing the *ǣ* in *ʸǣ* (written *yā*). And this *yā*, representing Primitive Dravidian *æ*, is answered in Kanarese by *ā* and in Telugu by *ē* as will be evident from the following table :—

TABLE IV.

Tamil.	Malayāḷam.	Kanarese.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1. āṭu (Old Tamil yāṭu) = a goat	āṭu ...	āḍu ...	ēḍu ...	ēḍaka, ēṭa
2. āṇṭu (Old Tamil yāṇṭu) = a year	āṇṭu ...	...	oḍu, as in iyyoḍu and mūvoḍu	ē(ṃ)ḍu
3. āṟu (Old Tamil yāṟu) = a river	āṟu ...	...	...	ēṟu
4. āṉai (Old Tamil yāṉai) = an elephant	āna ...	āne ...	āne ...	ēniga, ēnuga
5. āḷu = to rule	āḷu ...	āḷu ..	āḷu	ēlu
6. yāṉ = I	(ñān) (Primitive yān).	ān ...	yānu ...	ēnu

NOTE II.—Old Tamil ʸǣ > ā *in Mid. Tamil.*

Old Tamil *ʸǣ* > *ā* in Mid. Tamil; and in the transition of *yæ* to *ā*, there would naturally be many grades of distinction. As in each grade the *ǣ* of *ʸǣ* approaches more and more *ā*, the Vorschlag *y* would be less and less heard; and in the final stage when *ʸǣ* > *ā*, the *y* would be completely dropped. Thus the *yā* words would be written clearly with *ā*.

But in all periods of Tamil literature, poets had the licence of using even obsolete forms of words. Hence even in Mid. Tamil literature we find *yā*- and *ā*-forms are indifferently used. In New Tamil, more especially in the living dialect of it, the *ā*-forms alone are current. The following list illustrates the promiscuous use of *yā*- and *ā*-forms in Mid. Tamil literature.

The following list illustrates clearly the mixture of forms with *yā* and *ā*.

In the Aiṉkuṟunūṟu we have *yā*-forms, as—

yāmai (43, 44, 81), *yāṉai* (356).

In the Puṟanāṉūṟu we have—

āmai (42, 70, etc.), *āṭu* (54, 197, etc.), beside *yāṉai* (3, 4, etc.), *yāḷi* (207).

In the Cīvakacīntāmaṇī we have—

āmai (pages 552 and 835), *āḷi* (736, 866), beside *yāṉai* (176, 624, etc.), *yāḷi* (554).

In the Kuṟaḷ we have—

āmai (126), besid *yāl* (66) and *yāṉai* (599).

In the Tiruvācakam—

yāṉai, *4*, 11 ; *5*, 101, beside *āṉāi*, *6*, 81 ; *8*, 79.

yāṟu, *2*, 106 ; *5*, 288, beside *āṟu* *4*, 81 ; *19*, 4 and 16.

SECTION III.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS WITH INITIAL NASAL.

It has been pointed out in the foregoing sections that—

(1) the root-vowel of the first personal pronoun was very likely *æ* in Primitive Dravidian.

(2) the pronominal forms of the first person with initial nasal are later than the forms without it.

It is the purpose of this section to explain the development of the forms with initial nasal. This subject is an extremely difficult one, and must be considered still—a problem that has not been satisfactorily explained by any philologist. I have, however, made an humble attempt in this section to give a possible explanation of this difficult subject.

A careful comparative study of the first personal pronominal forms with initial nasal in the various important Dravidian languages shows that—

(1) In Kanarese the first personal pronominal forms with initial nasal were not developed till the eleventh century A.D. We do not find them mentioned either in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa or in the Śabdānuśāsana. In the commentary of the Śabdānuśāsana, written evidently some time after the text, we find mention is made of *nānu* and *nāvu* as forms also used in literature. According to Kittel *nāvu* (< *nāmu*, 'we') is the first to appear and is found in a Śāsana of A.D. 1181. Subsequent to this period *nānu* also makes its appearance.

(2) In Tamil, however, we find *nām* beside *yām* in the oldest literature. It is mentioned, in the Tolkāppiyam, as one of the two forms of the first person plural. But *nāṉ*, the singular form of *nām*, appears only four or five centuries later. It is mentioned in the Vīracōḻiyam as one of the forms of the first person singular.

N.B.—(1) In the Kuṟaḷ, the oldest of Tamil literary works, we find that *yām* is used fifteen times, and *nām* only once.

(2) The oblique *em-* occurs fifteen times and *nam-* only five times.

From these facts only one of two inferences is possible.

(1) Even in Primitive Dravidian there was a double form in the plural, one without the nasal and the other with it. This double form produced subsequently a corresponding double form in the singular, or

(2) Primitive Dravidian had no form with an initial nasal. This must then have developed later out of a phonetic tendency inherent already in the parent language but becoming operative gradually and asserting itself at a later period.

The first of these two inferences has, however, the following arguments against it:—

(1) Though *nām* is found in the oldest period of Tamil literature, Old Kanarese literature has no *nām*, or *nān*. *Nām (nāvu)* appears in Kanarese eleven centuries after its appearance in Tamil literature. Further the oldest Telugu literature makes a predominant use of *ēn*. If the parent language had also the form with the initial nasal, there is no reason why it should appear so very late in Kanarese. In that case Old Kanarese would have inherited from the parent language the form with the initial nasal which, historically, is not the case. (2) Again the oblique cases and the verbal terminations too should possess double forms, one with the initial nasal and the other without it. But we find that amongst the verbal terminations in any of the Dravidian languages there is no form with the initial nasal in any period of the development of these languages.† (3) Further the oblique case forms with the initial nasal are very late in their appearance, and these are synchronous in their appearance with the nominative forms possessing an initial nasal. These facts drive us naturally to the conclusion that the second of the above two inferences alone must be accepted, namely:—*the forms with the initial nasal must have developed later in each individual language out of a phonetic tendency already inherent in the parent language but becoming operative gradually and asserting itself later in each individual language.*

This phonetic tendency is the simple phenomenon that a nasal following a vowel nasalizes it, and if in the language in which the nasalized vowel is developed, there be no symbol to represent it in writing, it may be expressed in writing by a nasal and the vowel. This conjunct symbol (i.e., nasal plus vowel) may first have the original pronunciation of a nasalized vowel, but later, by the influence of the spelling, pronunciation may assume actually the value of a nasal and a vowel in the later pronunciation of the word. As, before the attempt to represent the nasalized vowel by a conjunct symbol, the nasalization may drop off through the influence of the more primitive written symbol—which is merely the vowel—the forms with the conjunct symbol may be only few and thus make this principle of vowel nasalization appear, as it were, not originally of universal application.

† Kuraḷ 1193 has *vāḷunam*; but the *n* of *-nam* is an excrescent letter. Compare *viḻunar* (third person plural) in the same stanza.

The nasalization of a vowel through the influence of a following nasal seems to be a common phenomenon in all the languages. In the spoken dialects of all the Dravidian languages we find nasal and non-nasal forms of vowels, e.g., in Tamil *tām*, 'themselves', is pronounced as [tã:m] or as [tɔ̃:m]. Though there may be a difference in the quality of the vowel *ā* as pronounced in the various dialects of spoken Tamil, there is no doubt that the vowel is distinctly nasalized. It is heard even in the carefully delivered speech of Tamil paṇḍits. The word *nān* itself is more commonly pronounced as [næ̃:]. In the Korava dialect of Tamil we have *nā* (probably [næ̃:]) as the actual first person singular form, and *nāga* (probably [nã:gaḷ]) as the plural. In Kanarese we have *nā* dialectically standing for *nānu* in '*nā ballida, tā ballida nendu*' (Cp. Dr. Kittel's Dictionary, page 850). Here *nā* is equivalent to *nānu* and *tā* to *tānu*. These seem, therefore, to represent the forms [nã:] and [tã:]. In Telugu *pāmu*, 'a snake', is pronounced [pã:mu] or [pɔ̃:mu]. The third person singular in Telugu is *vāḍu* or *vā(ṃ)ḍu*. These forms are pronounced more commonly as [vã:ḍu]. Almost all the words in Telugu which have an ardhānusvāra indicate a vowel with nasalization (see my thesis on Nasal and Consonant).

The same principle of nasalization must have been at work even in Primitive Dravidian. Vowels followed by a nasal would first become nasalized and the nasal element would be found only in pronunciation, as there is no symbol in any of the Dravidian languages by which a nasalized vowel can be indicated. After some time the nasalization would likely drop off even from the spoken dialect through the influence of the written forms of the word.

A few words might, however, preserve the nasalization and the nasal element of the vowel would naturally be indicated by a nasal being prefixed to the vowel in writing, e.g., *ǣ* (written *ā*) when nasalized would be written *nā* or *ñā*, *ñ* indicating the palatal character of the vowel.

The following is a list of words which show an initial nasal in one or other of the Dravidian languages:—

(1) Tamil *imai* or *nimai*, an 'eyelid', is in Malayāḷam *ima* in Kanarese *eme* or *eve*.

Tamil *nimai* seems to have developed from [ĩmæi] < [imæi].

(2) Kanarese *īju* or *īsu*, 'to swim', is *īcu* or *īju* in Tuḷu, *ī(ṃ)du* [ĩ:dŭ] in Telugu and *nīntu* in Tamil and Malayāḷam.

Telugu clearly establishes the developmentof [ĩ:dŭ] from [indŭ], and thus shows an intermediate stage. Evidently therefore, *nīntu* [nĩ:ndŭ] is developed from [ĩ:ndŭ].

(3) Kanarese and Telugu have *eṇḍri*, 'a crab.' Kanarese has also *ēḍi*, but in Tamil and Malayāḷam we have *ñaṇṭu*. In Modern Tamil we have *naṇṭu*.

(4) Old Telugu *i(m)gu*, 'to depart', New Telugu *igu* is in Kanarese also *igu*. But in Tamil it is represented by *niṅku*, and in Malayāḷam it is *niṅṅu*.

(5) † The Sanskrit word *yama-*, 'death,' is *ñamaṉ* in Old Tamil, and *namaṉ* in New Tamil and Malayāḷam.

Similarly *ǣ* when followed by a nasal as in *ǣn*, 'I,' or *ǣm*, 'we,' would develop into nasalized [æ̃:] and would be written as *nā* or *ñā*, there being no single symbol for nasalized *ǣ*. Thus we have—

[æ:] > [æ̃:] > [ɲæ:] becomes—

[ɲæ:] (written *ñā*) in Malayāḷam and Old Tamil.

[næ:] (written *nā*) in Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kanarese and Tuḷu.

[ne:] in Telugu.

In attempting to represent in writing the two first personal forms [æ̃:n] and [æ̃:m], a difference would naturally be observed as there develops a difference in the quality of the vowels.

[æ̃:n] remains as such in the first stages, but [æ̃:m] > [ɔ̃:m] through the influence of the labial nasal *m* (see a complete treatment of this principle in the next section under *-ōm*). Thus the Primitive Dravidian forms [æ̃:n] and [æ̃:m] become in pronunciation [æ̃:n] and [ɔ̃:m].

[æ̃:n] has three elements in the pronunciation of its initial vowel: it is (1) a palatal vowel, (2) a nasalized vowel and (3) a long vowel. These three elements are adequately represented only in the conjunct symbol *ñā*. *ñ* is a palatal and a nasal and *ā* is a long vowel. Thus *ñā* has all the elements found in [æ̃:]. The first stage in the representation of [æ̃:] would therefore be *ñā* which would first have the pronunciation of [æ̃:] and then be pronounced as it is spelt. Malayāḷam which ordinarily preserves the original *ñ* has *ñān* for the first person singular. But by the time that *ñāṉ* came to be accepted in the literary dialect of Tamil, the Primitive Dravidian *ñ* had regularly changed to *n* (vide infra for an illustration of this law). Hence we have *nāṉ* in Mid. and New Tamil. Compare here the change of Sanskrit *yama* into *ñamaṉ* in Old Tamil and *namaṉ* in New Tamil. Thus the Malayāḷam form *ñān* marks the intermediate stage in Tamil between *yāṉ* and *nāṉ*. In Rāmacaritam we have *yān*. Thus

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† This example clearly shows that between *ya* and *na* the intermediate stage is *ña*.

the development of *ñān* from *yān* in Malayāḷam seems to be very clear.

Now the plural of [ǣ:n], namely [ǣ:m] becomes first [ɔ̃:m]. This [ɔ̃: m] has no palatal element in it. Hence it is represented merely as *nām* in writing.† It would not therefore be possible to have the form *ñām* in any of the languages, which is actually the case. Even in Old Tamil we have the form *nām*. Malayāḷam has *nām* beside the singulars *ñān* and *yān*. Further the form *nōm* in Malayāḷam clearly establishes the value of *ā* in *nām* and also illustrates the phonetic principle that the labial nasal *m* nasalizes and rounds the vowel preceding it and also changes its quality.‡ But when the nasal following the base-vowel of the first personal pronominal word is not *m*, the initial nasal preceding the base-vowel may be *ñ*, for example *ñāṅṅaḷ*, an old honorific first person plural in Malayāḷam.

Thus the difference between the initial nasal of the singular *ñān* and that of the plural *nām* in Malayāḷam, clearly illustrates and confirms the principle assumed and worked out in this section. Malayāḷam preserving the original *ñ*, helps us in tracing the several stages in the development of Primitive Dravidian [ǣ:n] and [ǣ:m] in the various individual languages.§

The change of *ñ* into *n* is illustrated by the following words:—

(*a*) Old Tamil and Malayāḷam *ñanṭu*, 'a crab', is new Tamil *nanṭu*.

(*b*) Old Tamil and Malayāḷam *ñāṉ*, 'a bow-string', is in New Tamil *nāṉ*.

(*c*) Old Tamil and Malayāḷam *ñāyiṟu*, 'the sun', is in New Tamil *nāyiṟu*.

(*d*) Old Malayāḷam *ñarampu*, 'a sinew', is in Tamil *narampu*.

(*e*) Old Malayāḷam *ñāṟu*, 'a string', is in Tamil *nāṟu*.

(*f*) Malayāḷam *ñeṟi*, 'a way', is in Tamil *neṟi*.

(*g*) Old Tamil and Malayāḷam *ñālu*, Malayāḷam *ñēlu*, 'to hang,' is in New Tamil *nālu*.

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† *nām* has sometimes the spelling pronunciation, namely [na:m]; but it never has the pronunciation [næ:m]. The pronunciation of *nāṉ* (sg.), however, is more often [næ:n] than [na:n].

‡ Professor Mark Hunter writes in his remarks on this thesis: "So far as my small observation goes, Modern Dravidian has no pure [ɔ:] sound; but nasalized [ɔ̃:] is very common. The change of [a:m] to [ɔ̃:m] would be a very natural phonetic change."

§ Doctor Caldwell says: "The change of *yān* into *nān* would be facilitated if we should take the Malayāḷam *ñān*, as I think we fairly may, as the middle point." Probably Doctor Caldwell did not know that in Malayāḷam itself we have *yān* in Rāmacaritam.

SECTION IV.

THE OBLIQUE BASES.

In all the Dravidian languages the quantity of the pronominal base-vowel in the oblique cases differs from the quantity of the same vowel in the nominative. In the nominative it is long; in the oblique cases, short.

This difference is due to the position of the accent or stress. In the nominative the stress is on the base-vowel, viz., on *ā* in *yān*, *ān* and *ñān*; and on *ē* in *ēnu* and *nēnu*. But when these words are declined and inflexional suffixes are added to them the stress moves on to the next syllable as if to take a more central position that would enable the original root to bear the weight of additional syllables. The result of this accent-change is that the vowel of the nominative becomes unstressed and hence short in the oblique cases.

The vowel of the nominative is *ǣ* in Primitive Dravidian (vide supra) in the case of the first personal pronoun, and its unstressed form is *æ*.

This *æ* later becomes *a* in Kōlāmī and *e* in Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kanarese and Tuḷu, Kurukh and Malto.

Thus—

æ —
- *a* in Kōlāmī;
- *e* Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kanarese, Tuḷu, Kurukh and Malto;
- *æ* in Telugu, Kui and Gōṇḍī.

(1) In Kōlāmī the oblique base for the singular is *an* and for the plural *am*.

(2) In Telugu, Kui and Gōṇḍī, the *æ* of *æn* or *æm* drops owing to the accent resting on the next syllable and the vowel of the next accented syllable, which is *a*, is lengthened. Thus we have *nā* for the singular and *mā* for the plural. This dropping of *æ* and the lengthening of the accented vowel of the second syllable is prehistoric (vide Appendix on Vowel-lengthening in Telugu).

(3) In Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kanarese, Tuḷu, Kurukh and Malto, the oblique singular base is *en-* and the plural oblique base is *em-*. In Tuḷu and Malayāḷam *em-* is found as the first element of the double plural oblique base *eṅṅaḷ* (Malayāḷam) and *yeṅkuḷu* (Tuḷu).

Similarly the oblique forms derived from the first personal substantive pronouns with initial nasal such as *ñān*, *nān*, *nānu*, etc., have the base-vowel short.

Thus for the singular oblique base of the first person we may have *ñan-* or *nan-*, for the plural oblique base *ñam-* or *nam-*,

-n being the singular pronominal termination and *-m* the plural pronominal termination.

Of these *nan-* is found only in Kanarese: *ñan-* is probably to be seen in the Malayāḷam plural form *ñaṅṅaḷ*, though here it is not impossible that the base is *ñam-*. The form *nam-* is found in Tamil, Malayāḷam, Tuḷu and Kanarese, Kurukh and Malto, or in other words in all the languages except Kōlāmī and the Telugu group (i.e., Telugu, Kui and Gōṇḍī). *nam-* is sometimes pronounced [næm], but the spelling pronunciation [nam] is the most common. In Telugu and Kui, however, the accusatives alone are formed from a nasal oblique base, i.e., *nan-* and *mam-*. *nan-* is the singular and *mam-* which comes from *nam-* by assimilation (cf. Telugu *mēmu* < *nēmu*), is the plural oblique base of the accusative. For example:—

In Telugu—

First person singular accusative—*nanun*, *nannun* and *nannu*.

First person plural accusative—*mamun*, *mammun* and *mammu*.

In Kui—

First person singular accusative (and dative) is *naṅge*.

First person plural accusative (and dative) *maṅge*.

N.B.—(1) *mamun* is from *namun*; *n* > *m* by assimilation (cf. Telugu *mēmu* beside *nēmu* and Kurukh *maṅge*).

(2) In Kui, the accusative and dative fall together—
naṅge = *nan* + *ge*:
maṅge = *mam* + *ge*: *mam* < *nam* by assimilation (cf. Telugu).

In Tamil, Malayāḷam and Tuḷu we have also double plural oblique stems: for example, from *yāṅkaḷ* and *nāṅkaḷ* and *nāṅkaḷ*—

eṅkaḷ (Tamil), *eṅṅaḷ* (Malayāḷam), *eṅkul* (Tuḷu) and *ñaṅṅaḷ* (Malayāḷam).

In Tuḷu as well as in very Primitive Tamil all the cases are formed by adding the case terminations directly to the oblique stems, e.g.—

Tuḷu—

First person singular: { Acc. *yen-anu (yen + anu)*. Dat. *yeṅku (yen + ku)*. Gen. *yena (yen + a)*. }

First person plural: { Acc. *namanu (nam + anu)*. Dat. *naṅku (nan + ku)*. Gen. *nama (nam + a)*. }

Tamil—

First person singular: { Acc. *eṉṉai (eṉ + ai)*. Dat. *eṟku (eṉ + ku)*. Gen. *eṉa (eṉ + a)*. }

Tamil—

First person plural :
- Acc. *nammai (nam + ai),*
  emmai (em + ai).
- Gen. *ema (em + a),*
  nama (nam + a).

N.B.—In Old Tamil, however, only the dative singular is thus formed directly from the oblique base by the addition of the case suffix. The genitive is formed, as in New Tamil, by the addition of the adjectival suffix *-a.*

In Old Tamil, Modern Tamil, Old and Modern Malayāḷam and Kanarese, all the cases but the dative are formed as in Tuḷu by directly adding the case suffixes to the oblique stems *en-*, *em-*, *nan-* and *nam-*. In Telugu the only case which is formed by adding the termination directly to the base is the accusative. The oblique stems for the accusative of the first person in Telugu are *nan-* singular and *mam-* (< *nam-*) plural. Kui resembles in this respect Telugu.

On the other hand, the dative in Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kanarese and all the cases but the accusative in Telugu are formed from the oblique base by the addition of a formative: vide tables on pages 29 and 30.

In Telugu, however, the primitive oblique stems **æna* and **æma* underwent changes even in the prehistoric period of the language through the influence of the accent changing from one syllable to another.

The accent or stress in the case of pronominal words formed directly from the base is on the case suffix, while the accent in the case of words formed from the base with the help of the formative is on the formative, e.g.—

Primitive **ǽn*	but (1) *eṉṉai*, *eṉṉā́l*	Tamil.
	enné, *emmíl*	Malayāḷam.
	ennánu,	Kanarese.
	yenánu,	Tuḷu.
	(2) *yenkú,*	Tuḷu.
	eṉákku,	Tamil.
	enáge,	Kanarese.
	eníkku,	Malayāḷam.

In Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kanarese and Tuḷu, the result of the accent moving from the first syllable of the nominative to the second syllable in oblique forms is merely the shortening of the initial vowel, e.g.—

**ǽna* > *ená* through **æná,* and **æma* > **æmá* > *emá.*

But in Telugu the effects of accent-change are far more reaching. As a result of the accent shifting from the first

syllable to the second in the oblique forms, the accented vowel of the second syllable is lengthened and the unaccented vowel of the first syllable is dropped; and the lengthening of the accented vowel of the second syllable takes place only after this vowel has been assimilated in quality to the vowel of the first syllable. Thus—

**æna* > **æṇæ* > **ænǽ* > *nǣ́* (written *nā*) and **æma* > **æṃæ* > *æmǽ* > *mǽ* (written *mā*).

For a fuller explanation of this law of vowel-lengthening in Telugu through the influence of accent change vide Appendix I.

The following tables give the oblique cases of the personal pronouns in all the Dravidian languages :—

Singular Oblique Base of Pronouns.

Person.	Oblique cases.	Tamil.	Malayāḷam.	Kanarese.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.	Gōṇḍī.	Kui.	Kurukẖ.	Kōlāmī (Central Provinces).	Malto.
				O.Ka. M.Ka.							
First ...	2	eṉṉai	enne	ennam nannamu	yenanu ...	nanun, nannun, nannu	nākun (dat.)	naṅgē (acc.-dat.)	eṅgan ...	anu (ṅg)	eṅgen
	3	eṉṉāl	ennāl ...	ennim nanninda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	eṉakku	enikku, inikku ...	enage nanage	yeṅku ...	nākun, nāku	nākun (acc.)	naṅgē	eṅgā, eṅgāgē.	...	eṅge
	6	eṉ, eṉṉuṭaya ...	en, enṟe ...	ena nana, nanna	yena ...	nā ..	nāwōr ...	nā, nai	eṅghai ..	anna ...	eṅg(ki)
	7	eṉṉil ...	ennil	ennoḷ nanalli nannalli	yenaḍa ...	...	nāte ...	nāke ...	eṅgnū	...	eṅgeno
		O.T. N.T.									
Second ...	2	niṉṉai, uṉṉai	ninne	ninnam ninnanu	ninanu ...	ninun, ninnun, ninnu	nīkun ...	niṅgē (dat.)	niṅgan ..	...	niṅgen
	3	niṉṉāl uṉṉāl	ninnāl ...	ninnim nininda		...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	niṉakku uṉakku	ninakku, niṉakku	ninage ...	nikku ..	nīkun, nīku	nīkun	niṅgē (acc.)	niṅgā ...	...	niṅge
	6	niṉ, niṉa uṉṉuṭaya	ninṟe, nin, ninnude	nina ninna	niṅku, nina	nī ...	nīwōr ...	nī ...	niṅghai ..	inna ...	niṅg(ki)
	7	niṉṉil uṉṉil	ninnil ...	ninnoḷ ninnalli	ninaḍa ...	...	nīte ...	nike ...	niṅgnū ...	...	niṅgeno
Reflexive.	2	taṉṉai	tanne	tannam tannanu	...	tanun, tannun, tannu, tananu	...	...	...	...	taṅgen
	3	taṉṉāl	tannāl	tannim tanninda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	taṉakku ...	tanikku ...	tanage ...	...	tanaku ..	...	...	...	...	taṅge
	6	taṉ taṉṉuṭaya	tanṟe, tan ...	tanna ...	...	tana ...	...	...	...	...	taṅg(ke)
	7	taṉṉil	tannil	tannoḷ tannalli	...	...	...	...	...	..	taṅgeno

Plural Oblique Base of Pronouns.

Person.	Oblique cases.	Tamiḻ.	Malayāḷam.	Kanarese.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.	Gōṇḍi.	Kui.	Kurukh.	Malto.
First ...	2	emmai, nammai, eṅgaḷai	ñaṅṅaḷe, namme	emmam, nammam, nammanu	namanu, yeṅkuḷenu	mamun, mammun, mammu, manamunu	mākun ...	maṅgē (acc.-dat.)	eman, naman	emen, namen
	3	emmāl, nammāl, eṅgaḷāl	ñaṅṅaḷāl, nammāl	emmim, namminda	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	emakku, namakku, eṅgaḷukku	ñaṅṅaḷkku, namukku	emage, namage	naṅku, yeṅkuḷegu	mākun, māku, manaku	mākun ...	maṅgē (acc.)	emāgē, naṅgā-gē	eme, name
	6	em-, nam-, eṅgaḷ-	ñaṅṅeḷuḍe, nammuḍe	ema, nama	nama, yeṅkuḷe	mā ...	mā, māwor	mā, mai ...	emhai, namhai	em(ki), nam(ki)
	7	emmil, nammil, eṅgaḷil	ñaṅṅaḷil, nammil (eṅṅaḷil), (emmil)	emmoḷ, nammalli	namaḍu, yeṅkuḷeḍu	...	māte ..	māke ..	emnū, namnū	emeno, nameno
Second ...	2	nummai, uṅgaḷai, ummai	niṅṅaḷe ...	nimmam, nimmanu	īrenu, nikuḷenu	mimun, mimmun, mimmu, mimmunu	mīkun ..	miṅgē ...	niman ...	nimen
	3	nummāl, uṅgaḷāl, ummāl	niṅṅaḷāl ...	nimmim, niminda	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	numakku, uṅgaḷakku, umakku	niṅṅaḷkku ...	nimage ...	nikuḷegu, īregu	mīkun, mīku	mīkun ...	miṅgē ...	nimāgē ...	mīme
	6	num-, um-, uṅgaḷ-	niṅṅaḷuḍe ...	nima ...	nikuḷe, īre	mī ...	mī, mīwor...	mī ...	nimhai ..	nim(ki)
	7	nummil, uṅgaḷil, ummil	niṅṅaḷil (nimmil)	nimmoḷ, nimmalli	nikuḷeḍu, īreḍu	...	mīte ...	mīke ...	nimnū ...	nimeno

Plural Oblique Base of Pronouns—cont.

Person.	Oblique cases.	Tamil.	Malayāḷam.	Kanarese.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.	Gōṇḍī.	Kui.	Kurukh.	Malto.
Reflexive .	2	taṅgaḷai, tammai	tamme, taṅṅaḷe	tāmmam ...	...	tamun, tammun, tammu, tammunu, tamarini	...	...	...	tamen
	3	taṅgaḷāl, tammāl	tammal, taṅṅaḷāl	tamminu, tammu	...	...	...	..	..	...
	4	taṅgaḷukku, tamakku	tamukku, taṅṅaḷkku	tamage ...	...	tamakun, tamaku, tamariki	...	...	...	tame
	6	tam-, taṅgaḷ, tammuḍaiya	tammuṭe, taṅṅaluṭe	tama ...	...	tama, tamari	...	...	...	tam(-ki)
	7	taṅgaḷil, tammil	tammil, taṅṅaḷil	tammoḷ, tammalli	...	...	...	...	...	tameno

SECTION V.

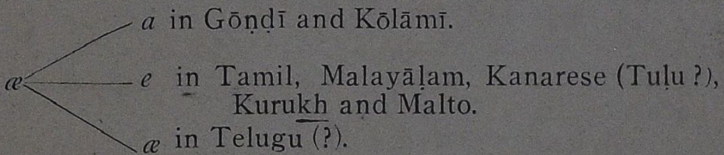
THE HISTORY OF THE PRONOMINAL TERMINATIONS OF DRAVIDIAN VERBS.

A.—General.

In analysing a fully inflected verb in any Dravidian language, we find that it consists of three distinct parts: (1) the verbal base, (2) the tense-infix, (3) the pronominal termination; e.g., Old Tamil (1) *peyveṉ* (I shall pour) = *pey* + *v* + *eṉ*, (2) *naṭappem* (we shall walk) = *naṭa* + *pp* + *em*. Here, *pey* and *naṭa* are verbal bases; *v* or *pp*, the tense-infix and *eṉ* and *em* the pronominal terminations.

The stress in these fully inflected verbs falls on the central syllable (as in the case of fully declined pronouns, vide section IV), so as to enable the verbal root to bear the weight of added syllables. The central syllable is the syllable denoting the tense-infix. The other parts of the verb are unstressed and hence weak.

The weak form of the termination of the first person was -*æn or -*æm [< stressed -*æn (first person singular) and -*æm (first person plural)]. The æ of -*æn or -*æm has, under normal conditions, the same development as in the oblique first person of pronouns, namely—



Thus normally—

(1) *-an* is the singular and *-am* the plural termination in Gōṇḍī and Kōlāmī;

(2) *-en* (*-eṉ*, Ta.) is the singular and *-em* the plural termination in Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kanarese (Tuḷu ?) Kurukh and Malto;

(3) but in Telugu -*æn and -*æm undergo many combinative changes under the influence of vowel-harmony (vide Vowel-lengthening in Telugu, infra).

N.B.—(1) In New Kanarese *-em* > *-evu*; *m* > *v* (Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa, 104).
(2) In Tuḷu -*æn > -*e through nasalized *e*. Cp. Korava and other rude dialects.

But a study of these terminations is made very complicated especially in Tamil, by the fact that these terminations must have had emphatic and unemphatic forms existing side by side in the parent language itself, one or other of which forms became generalised already in the prehistoric period of the individual branches of the parent language. For example, in Old Tamil beside *-eṉ* we have also *-ēṉ* as the termination of the first person singular; also beside *-em* we have *-ēm* as the termination of the first person plural. Of these *-ēṉ* is the form generalised in Old Malayāḷam.

Again this study is made still more complicated by the development—even in the prehistoric period of individual languages—of new forms through the influence of neighbouring sounds, such as, *m*, *v* [ʋ], etc. Thus in Old Tamil beside *-em*, the first person plural suffix, we have also *-am*, and *-ām*. In Mid. Tamil we have a new form *-ōm*.

I shall now attempt to explain the origin of the various terminations in each of the Dravidian languages.

B.—The Regular Terminations in Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kanarese.

The weak unemphatic form of *-*ǣn* is *-æn*; and of *-*ǣm* is *-*æm*. The *æ* of *-*æn* and *-*æm* changes to *e* in Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kanarese (vide Oblique cases, section IV).

Hence in Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kanarese the regular first person singular verbal termination is *-en* (*-eṉ*, Ta.) and the plural is *-em*.

Kanarese in all the periods of its development has *-en* for the singular and *-em* for the plural. In Mid. Kanarese *-en* > *-enu* and *-em* > *-emu* > *-evu*.

In Old Tamil we have *-eṉ* as one of the singular terminations and *-em* as a plural termination. *-en* and *-em* gradually become obsolete even in Mid. Tamil, i.e., in the Vīracōḻiyam period, and are confined to the future tense. In New Tamil they are completely obsolete.

In Old Malayāḷam we have *-en* as a singular termination restricted to the future tense (vide section 134, Vyākaraṇa-Mitran).

In Malto we have both *-en* and *-em* as regular verbal terminations. In Kōlāmī only *-en* is found.

C.—The Emphatic Forms.

In Old Tamil beside *-eṉ* we have also *-ēṉ* and beside *-em* also *-ēm*. The special form *-am*, the first person plural termination to be explained below, has also an emphatic form *-ām*.

In Mid. Tamil the emphatic forms *-ēṉ* and *-ōm* (a form to be explained infra) are alone common; the other forms are becoming gradually obsolete.

In Modern Tamil *-ēṉ* is the standard singular termination and *-ōm*, the plural; the others are archaic.

In Old Malayāḷam the emphatic forms *-ēn* and *-ōm* were those in use. Though in Old, Mid. and Modern Kanarese the unemphatic forms were those in use, in New Kanarese the emphatic forms *-ēne* (singular) and *-ēve* (plural) are becoming common.

In Old Telugu only the unemphatic forms *-an* (< -**æn*), *-am* (< -**æm*) and *-in*, *-ini* are found. But in New Telugu after the sixteenth century we find the emphatic forms *-ānu* and *-āmu* becoming very common.

In Kurukh we have both emphatic and unemphatic forms. Beside *-an*, *-on*, *-am* and *-om* we have also *-ēn* and *-ēm*.

The only Dravidian languages that seem to have no emphatic forms are Tuḷu, Gōṇḍī and Malto.

D.—The Origin of *-aṉ*, *-ăm*, etc., in Tamil.

In the Tolkāppiyam *-al* is one of the first person singular terminations. This *-al* is considered in the Vīracōḻiyam to be a variant of *-aṉ* which appears in literature a little later than *-al*. Both *-al* and *-aṉ* are considered to be terminations of the first person singular added to verbs in the future tense. The commentaries of the Tolkāppiyam establish the fact that *-al* is a termination added to verbs in the future tense. In the Tirukkuṟaḷ both *-al* and *-aṉ* are used only in the future tense: e.g., *keṭuval*, 'I shall perish' (116); *ceyval*, 'I will make' (1023); and *irappaṉ*, 'I shall beg' (1067).

Further in Old Malayāḷam *-an* which is one of the first person singular terminations is used only in the future tense (article 134, Vyākaraṇa-mitran).

From these facts it seems reasonable to infer that *-aṉ* (or *-al*) being restricted to the future tense, the future infix *v* or *pp* must have something to do in the development of *a*. *v* [ʋ] or *pp* seems to change the original Primitive Dravidian *æ* into *a*; for otherwise it must normally become *e* (vide supra). Thus it would appear the future infix *v* [ʋ] or *pp* converts the Primitive Dravidian *æ* into a spread back vowel *a*.

N.B.—Professor Mark Hunter says: "Neither *p* nor [ʋ] (which is the sound intended by *v*) is pronounced with lip-rounding; they are both spread."

The *-aṉ* thus developed produces a corresponding plural form *-am*. This *-am* again has an emphatic double in *-ām*. Thus *-am* and *-ām* are developments from the singular *-aṉ*.

Like the singular *-aṉ* or *-aḷ*, the plurals *-am* and *-ām* too must have been used only in the future tense in the very early period of Old Tamil. In the Kuṟaḷ, at any rate, we find *-am* and *-ām* used only in the future tense: e.g., *eṇṇuvam*, 'we shall consider' (467); *peṟukuvam*, 'we shall prosper' (1328); *aṟivām*, 'we shall know' (36) and *tīrvām*, 'we shall get rid of' (1063). Subsequently *-am* and *-ām* and even *-aṉ* seem to have had a wider application.

[In Kurukh we find that *æ* is changed into *ō* in the future tense. In Malto, the optative which is a kind of future tense has *-on* and *-om*.]

E.—The Origin of Tamil-Malayāḷam *-ōm*.

In Mid. Tamil, i.e., about the seventh or eighth century A.D., a new form of the first person plural, namely, *-ōm* is developed, and this gradually replaces all the other terminations of the plural in Tamil until it becomes the standard plural suffix in Modern Tamil.

Now the question is: what is the origin of this *-ōm*?

From the oldest period of Tamil we have had *ō*-forms in the other personal pronominal endings. According to the Tolkāppiyam Viṉai, sūtras 14 and 15, *-āṉ*, *-āḷ* and *-ār*, the third personal pronominal endings, and also *-āy*, the second person singular ending, become respectively in poetry *-ōṉ*, *-ōḷ*, *-ōr* and *-ōy*. This change was no doubt optional. Nevertheless, it is most frequently found in poetry (vide Cilappatikāram which contains examples almost on every page).

Further in Old Malayāḷam we find a similar change. *-ān* becomes *-ōn*, and *-āḷ* becomes *-ōḷ* though only in the future tense. [Article 136-2, Vyākaraṇa-mitran.]

In Kanarese *avaḷ*, † *avaṃ* and *avar* become *avoḷ*, *avom* and *avor*. [Further *-am* in general may become *-om* (Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa, sūtra 157), e.g., *nuḍidam* 'he spoke' > *nuḍidom*.]

Thus the analogy of *ō*-forms in all the other personal pronominal words developing out of an *ā*-form seems to have influenced the first person plural and we have thus *-ōm* developed from *-ām*.

Though mere analogy of the other personal pronominal forms may be enough to account for the *-ōm*-form in the first person plural, the fact that *-am* in general changes to *-om*

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† Doctor Kittel quotes examples from Sāsanas for *am* > *om*, *aḷ* > *oḷ*, *udu* > *odu*, *ar* > *or*, *adu* > *odu*, *āvaḷ* > *āvoḷ*, etc.—Vide Kittel's Kannaḍa Grammar, pages 47, 51, 53, 58, 111 and 112.

in Kanarese, and that in Toḍa *-ām* is pronounced as [ɔ:m] and beside it we have also *-ōm* (vide Doctor Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, page 364), seem to point to the influence of the labial nasal *m* also. Under the influence of *m*, *-ām* first becomes [ɔ:m] then [ɔ̃:m] and finally *ōm* (pr. [o:m] or [õ:m]).

That *-ōm* develops by the influence of *m* seems again to be clear from the fact that in Kui, while we have for the singular suffixes *-ēnu*, *-ē*, etc., we have for the plural *-āmu* instead of *-*ēmu*.

Thus -ōm *seems to have developed from* -ām *through the combined influence of the analogy of the other pronominal forms and the labial final* m.

N.B.—Doctor Caldwell says: "*ō* is found in the plural in some connexions in Tamil and Malayāḷam, but it is derived, as I think I have shown, from *ām*."

F.—Influence of Nasals in general.

In the uncultivated dialects of Tamil, namely, Korava and Kaikāḍi and also in Modern colloquial Tamil and in Tuḷu, the influence of the nasal suffixes *n* and *m* is most seen.

In these languages the vowel followed by the nasal becomes a single nasalized sound. In some cases even the nasalization of the vowel disappears and the pure vowel alone is heard in pronunciation: cf. Tuḷu, Korava and Kaikāḍi.

In Modern colloquial Tamil *nāṉ vantēṉ* is pronounced ordinarily as [nã:vandẽ:] or [næ̃:vandẽ:] and *nām vandōm* as [nɔ̃:vandõ:]. In other words *-ēṉ* and *-ōm* are pronounced as nasalized *-ē* and *-ō* respectively.

In Korava and Kaikāḍi as also in Tuḷu, even this nasalization is lost and only the pure vowel without nasalization is heard; e.g., in Korava and Kaikāḍi the first person singular ending is *-ē*, and the first person plural is *-ō*. In Kaikāḍi beside *-ē* we have also *-ī* and beside *-ō* also *-ū*. Again in Kui beside the first person singular *-ēnu* we have merely *-ē* and *-ī*.

In Tuḷu the first person singular termination is *-e* and the plural is *-a*. The termination *-e* is pronounced *-æ* (vide Remark, page 47, Tuḷu Grammar by J. Brigel). The developments of *-e* and *-a* may be expressed as follows:—

(1) [æn] > [æ̃n] > [æ̃] > [æ] (written *e*).
(2) [am] > [ãm] > [ã] > [a].

N.B.—Tamil-Malayāḷam, *-ōm* is itself a development produced by the influence of *m*.

G.—SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT OF *æ* IN TELUGU.

Primitive Dravidian *æ* (the unstressed short of *ǣ* of the first person) is much affected by the law of vowel-harmony in Telugu:—after *ă̄* it becomes *a*; after *ŭ̄* it becomes *u*; after ī̆ it becomes *i*.

Thus we get three types of verbs in Telugu—

(1) those ending in *-an* or *-anu* (first person singular) and *-amu* (first person plural);

(2) those ending in *-un* or *-unu* (first person singular) and *-umu* (first person plural);

(3) those ending in *-in* or *-ini* (first person singular) and *-imi* (first person plural).

All these types are formed from the verbal participles.

There is a fourth type ending in *-ānu* (singular) and *-āmu* (plural) used in Modern Telugu. This is formed from the relative participles.

(*a*) THE *a*-TYPE.

This type includes (1) the first personal verbal nouns, (2) the old classical future tense—

The Verbal Nouns.

(1) *nēnu bīdavāḍanu* = I am a poor man.
mēmu bīdavāramu = we are poor men.

Here *bīdavāḍu* and *bīdavāru* are third personal nouns and these are converted into verbal forms by the addition of original *-*æn(u)* or *-*æmu* which by vowel-harmony with the preceding *ā* becomes *-an(u)* or *-amu*.

The Old Classical Future.

(2) *nēnu vaṇḍa(ṃ)galan* = I shall cook.
mēmu vaṇḍa(ṃ)galamu = we shall cook.

These are old classical futures which are now obsolete.

Here Primitive Dravidian first personal *-*æn* or *-*æmu* becomes *-an* or *-amu* by vowel-harmony with the preceding vowel *a* of *-gal-*.

(*b*) THE *u*-TYPE.

This type includes the 'Indefinite tense' called in Telugu 'Taddharma.'

nēnu koṭṭudunu = I would strike.
mēmu koṭṭudumu = we would strike.

Here Primitive Dravidian *-*ænu* or *-*æmu* > *-unu* or *-umu* by vowel-harmony with the preceding *u* of *-ud-*, the infix of the indefinite tense.

(*c*) THE *i*-TYPE.

This type represents the old classical past tense. This type is most common in the Ceded Districts, but is rarely used in conversation in the Circars.

nēnu vaṇḍitin or *vaṇḍitini* = I cooked.
mēmu vaṇḍitimi = we cooked.

Here *-in* (or *-ini*) and *-imi* are from -**æn* and -**æm* respectively by vowel-harmony with the *-i-* of *-it-*, the infix of the past tense.

(*d*). THE *ā*-TYPE.

This type is generally considered to be non-literary. It represents the emphatic form of the *a*-type.

Thus *-ānu* and *-āmu* are from *-anu* and *-amu* which develop from -**æn* or -**æm*. The *ā*-type develops, therefore, from the *a*-type through emphasis; and is thus also the result of vowel-harmony.

It includes (1) the present progressive tense, (2) the habitual present tense and (3) the past tense of Modern Telugu as spoken in the Northern Circars—

(1) *Present Progressive.*

nēnu koṭṭutunnānu = I am striking.
mēmu koṭṭutunnāmu = we are striking.

Here we have *koṭṭutunna-* + *-ānu* or *-āmu*. *Koṭṭutunna* is the present progressive relative participle (vide Arden's Progressive Grammar of Telugu, page 75 and article 197). *-ānu* and *-āmu* are from *-anu* and *-amu* by emphasis. *-ănu* and *-ămu* develop from -**æn* and -**æm* by vowel-harmony with the *a* of *-unna-*. In combination, the *a* of *-unna-* drops after changing *æ* into *a* which becomes *ā* by emphasis.

Thus: *koṭṭutunna* + -**æn*(*u*) > *koṭṭutunna-* + *-ānu* > *koṭṭutunnānu.*

(2) *Habitual Present.*

nēnu koṭṭutānu = I strike.
mēmu koṭṭutāmu = we strike.

Here again, as in the case of the present progressive tense, we have *-ānu* or *-āmu* the emphatic forms of *-anu* or *-amu* added to the present relative participle ending in *-uta-*.

Thus: *koṭṭutānu* is from *koṭṭuta-* + *-ānu* (emphatic). *-ānu* develops from *-anu* which arises from -**æn* by vowel-harmony with the *a* of *-uta-* in * *koṭṭuta-*.†

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† *Koṭṭuta* = *koṭṭutu* (present verbal participle) + *-a* (the relative termination).

(3) *The Past Tense.*

nênu koṭṭinānu = I struck.
mēmu koṭṭināmu = we struck.

This type of the past tense is the most common in the Northern Circars while in Cuddapah the old classical *ini*-type is used.

Koṭṭinānu is from *koṭṭina*- + -*ānu* (emphatic). The *a* of -*ina*-, the relative past participle infix, disappears after changing -*æn or -*æm into -*an* or -*am* which develop by emphasis into -*ānu* or -*āmu*.

N.B.—The forms *koṭṭinānu* and *koṭṭināmu* are contracted in the speech of the low class people to *koṭṭānu* and *koṭṭāmu*—vide article 719, Arden.

To sum up—

The *a*-, *u*-, and *i*-types of verbs are formed by the addition of weak personal endings -*an* (-*am*), -*un* (-*um*) or -*in* (-*im*) respectively. These develop from -*æn or -*æm by vowel-harmony with a preceding vowel *a*, *u*, or *i*.

Again these types are formed from the verbal participles.

On the other hand, the *ā*-types are formed by the addition of emphatic personal endings and from relative participles ending in *a*. This *a* disappears before the personal termination, but before disappearing changes -*æn or -*æm into -*anu* or -*amu*, which by emphasis become -*ānu* or -*āmu*.

SECTION VI.

CONCLUSION.

A.—SUMMARY OF THE WHOLE THESIS BY GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION.

The Development of æ in the Nominative and Oblique Cases and also in Verbs under normal Conditions.

æ
- Stressed — *æ*
  - *ē* (Telugu, Kurukh and Malto).
  - *yā* (Old Tamil and Tuḷu).
  - *ā* (Kanarese, Kui and Kōlāmī) also in New Tamil in non-pronominal words.
- Unstressed — *æ*
  - *a* (normally) in Gōṇḍī (verbs) and Kōlāmī (oblique cases and verbs).
  - *e* (Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kanarese, Tuḷu, Kui and Malto).
  - *æ*
    - *a* or *u* or *i*, by vowel-harmony in Telugu.
    - *a* > *ā* by emphasis.
    - *æ* disappears before the tense infix in Kuṛukh.

Special Development of æ in Verbs.

æ
- *e*
  - *e* (unemphatic) in Old Tamil, Kanarase, Tuḷu and Malto.
  - *ē* (emphatic) in New Tamil, Old Malayāḷam and Kui.
- *a*
  - (1) Normally in Gōṇḍī and Kōlāmī.
  - (2) before *v* or *p*, the future infix in Tamil and Old Malayāḷam.
  - (3) before the plural suffix *-m* >
    - *a* in Old Tamil and Tuḷu.
    - *ā* (emphatic)
      - *ā* Old Tamil and Kui (nouns).
      - *ō* New Tamil, Old Malayāḷam.
- *æ*
  - *a* or *i* or *u* (Telugu) by vowel-harmony.
  - *ā* by vowel-harmony with the relative suffix *a* and the influence of accent.

APPENDIX.

THE LAW OF VOWEL-LENGTHENING IN TELUGU.

ENUNCIATION.

When in a Primitive Dravidian polysyllabic pronominal word, or any word where the vowel of the second syllable is separated from that of the first syllable by any one of the liquids *r*, *ṟ*, *l*, *ḻ* and *ḷ* the accent falls on the vowel of the second syllable, then in Telugu the vowel of the second syllable is first assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable (in the prehistoric period) and then lengthened with the simultaneous dropping of the unaccented vowel of the first syllable.

EXPLANATION.

1. This law applies to all the pronominal words having the accent on the second syllable.
2. It applies also to other words having *r*, *ṟ*, *l*, *ḻ*, or *ḷ* intervening between the first and the second syllable and having the accent on the second syllable.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A) The Pronominal Words.

The Primitive Dravidian pronominal words that have the accent on the second syllable are the oblique cases of all the pronouns except the interrogative pronouns, i.e., **ad(u)*, 'it', **id(u)*, 'this', *avai*, 'those things', *ivai*, 'these things', **ǣn*, 'I', **ǣm*, 'we', **in*, 'thou', **im*, 'you', *avan*, 'he,' *ivan*, 'this man', *avar*, 'they' and *ivar*, 'these men'.

These pronouns being nominative pronouns have the accent on the first syllable.

But the oblique cases of these pronouns *have the accent on the second syllable* in accordance with the principle of balance referred to above.

(*a*) The oblique bases of **ad(u)* and **id(u)* are formed by the addition of the formative *-an* or *-in*. Cf. Tamil *adåṉ* (written *ataṉ*) or *adiṉ* (written *atiṉ*) and *idaṉ* (written *itaṉ*) or *idiṉ* (written *itin*).

According to the law enunciated above—

adán > *dān* in Telugu through **ₐdán*
idín > *dīn* in Telugu through **ᵢdín*.

With the addition of the genitive sign *-i* of Telugu, these give *dāni* and *dini*.

(*b*) The oblique bases of *avai* and *ivai* are formed by the addition of the particle *-aṟṟ-* or *-iṟṟ-*.

Tamil uses, as a rule, the formative *-aṟṟ-* and Telugu chooses *-aṟṟ-* (> *-aṭ-*) or *-iṟṟ-* (> *-iṭ-*) according as the initial vowel of the pronoun is *a* or *i*.

Tamil while adding the formative *-aṟṟ-*, uses the weak forms of *avai* and *ivai*, namely, *av* and *iv*: (vide Naṉṉūl, sūtra 250, and Tolkāppiyam, Eḻuttatikāram, 388).

The use of the weak forms *av* and *iv* in Tamil is consistent with the fact that *av* and *iv* are unaccented in the oblique forms.

As the result of the stress shifting from the first to the second syllable, we have *-avaṟṟ-* > *-vāṭ-*.

ṟṟ > *ṭṭ* in Telugu and *ṭṭ* > *ṭ* after a long vowel (vide my thesis on Double Consonants). Similarly—

**iviṟṟ-* > *viṭ-*

vāṭ- and *viṭ-* become oblique bases by the addition of the genitive sign *i*. For in Telugu the genitive is the oblique base. Hence we get *vāṭi* and *viṭi*.

(*c*) The oblique base of **æn* is **æna-* and of **æm* is **æma-*: compare Tamil *eṉa-* and *ema-*.

The oblique of **in* is **ina-* and of **im* is **ima-*.

**ina-* and **ima-* > in Telugu **ini* and **imi* by vowel-harmony.

When the accent shifts on to the second syllable in the oblique cases **æna-* > *nā-*; *æma-* > *mā-*; **ini* > *nī*; **imi* > *mi* in Telugu in accordance with the law above enunciated.

It is thus clear that the operation of the law of vowel-harmony is anterior to the effect of accent change.

(*d*) *avan-* and *avar-* become *vān-* and *vār-* in the oblique case and with the genitive termination *-i* the full oblique bases of these pronouns in Telugu are *vāni* and *vāri*.

ivan- and *ivar-* first become **ivin-* and **ivir-* by vowel-harmony and then change to *vīn-* and *vīr-*. These with the genitive ending *-i* give *vīni* and *vīri* in Telugu.

(*e*) The nominative demonstratives *avan*, *ivan*, *avar* and *ivar* have the accent on the initial vowel as stated above. Hence these should give us the forms **ava(ṃ)ḍu*, **iva(ṃ)ḍu*, **avaru* and **ivaru* in Telugu. But though the influence of the oblique forms, we have *vā(ṃ)ḍu* and *vi(ṃ)ḍu* pronounced [vã:dŭ] and [vĩ:dŭ] (also [vā:dŭ] and [vī:dŭ]) respectively, and not **ava(ṃ)ḍu*, **iva(ṃ)ḍu*. Again *vāru* and *vīru* have taken the place of **avaru* and **ivaru*.

The following tables illustrate in a graphic manner the full development of the *long vowels* in the Telugu pronominal words through the influence of the accent change :—

adan-	Non-Telugu...	*adaṉ-* (Tamil) (written *ataṉ-*).
	Telugu ...	*$_{a}$*dán-* > *dā́n-* and (with genitive *-i*) *dā́ni*
idin-	Non-Telugu...	*idiṉ-* (Tamil) (written *itiṉ-*).
	Telugu ...	*$_{i}$*din-* > *dī́n-* and (with genitive *-i*) *dī́ni.*
avaṟṟ-	Non-Telugu...	*avaṟṟ-* (Tamil).
	Telugu ...	*$_{a}$*vaṭṭ-* > *vā́ṭ-* and (with genitive *-i*) *vāṭi.*
ivaṟṟ-	Non-Telugu...	*ivaṟṟ-* (Tamil).
	Telugu ...	*$_{i}$*viṭṭ-* > *vī́ṭ-* and (with genitive *-i*) *vīṭi.*
**æna-*	Non-Telugu...	*ena-*, Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kanarese.
	Telugu ...	*$_{æ}$*na-* > *nā́-.*
**æma-*	Non-Telugu...	*ema-*, Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kanarese.
	Telugu ...	*$_{æ}$*ma-* > *mā́-.*
**ina-*	Non-Telugu...	*uṉ-* (Tamil ?)
	Telugu ...	**ine* > **ini* > *$_{i}$*ní* > *nī́.*
**ima-*	Non-Telugu...	*um-* (Tamil)?
	Telugu ...	**ime* > **imi* > *$_{i}$*mí* > *mī́.*
avan-	Non-Telugu oblique ...	*avaṉ-* (Tamil).
	Telugu oblique ...	*$_{a}$*van-* > *vā́n-* and (with genitive *-i*) *vāni.*
avar-	Non-Telugu oblique ...	*avar-* (Tamil).
	Telugu oblique ...	*$_{a}$*var-* > *vā́r-* and (with genitive *-i*) *vāri.*
ivan-	Non-Telugu oblique ...	*ivaṉ-* (Tamil).
	Telugu oblique ...	**iven-* > **ivin-* > *$_{i}$*vín-* > *vī́n-* and (with genitive *-i*) *vīni.*
ivar-	Non-Telugu oblique ...	*ivar-* (Tamil).
	Telugu oblique ...	**iver-* > **ivir-* > *$_{i}$*vír-* > *vī́r-* and (with genitive *-i*) *vīri.*

NOTE.

Interrogative Bases.

The interrogative pronouns, whether they are in the nominative or in the oblique case, have naturally the stress on the syllable which contains the interrogative base ; and

this syllable is invariably the first in every interrogative pronominal word.

As a result of the stress resting on it, the vowel of the first syllable often becomes long.

In Tamil beside *e*, we have also *ē* and *yā*. In Malayāḷam and Kanarese we have only the emphatic accented forms: Malayāḷam has *ē* and Kanarese has *yā*. In Telugu beside *e* (which is Old Telugu) we have in New Telugu *ē*. Sometimes in Telugu instead of vowel-lengthening through emphasis, we have also consonant-lengthening in the first syllable, e.g., *ev*, *ēv*, or *evv*.

Thus—

In Tamil, beside *evan̠*, *evaḷ*, *edu*, *evai* and *evar*, we have also *ēvan̠*, *ēvaḷ*, *ēdu*, *ēvai*, *ēvar* and also *yāvan̠*, *yāvaḷ*, *yādu*, *yāvai* and *yāvar*.

In Malayāḷam, we have only the emphatic long forms *ēvan*, *ēvaḷ*, *ēdu*, *ēva* and *ēvar*.

In Kanarese, only the emphatic forms *yāvanu* (= *āvanu*), *yāvaḷu* (= *āvaḷu*), *yāvadu* (= *āvadu*), *yāru* (= *āru*), *yāvavu* (= *āvuvu*).

N.B.—Kanarese *yā* and *ā* < original open *ē*.

In Telugu, we have beside *evaḍu*, *edi*, *evaru* and *evi*, also *evvaḍu*, *evvaru*, *ēvāḍu*, *ēvāru*, *ēḍu*, *ēdi* and *ēvi* (vide Arden's Telugu Grammar, section 772).

Mr. Seshagiri Rao tells me that the following forms with *y* are found in the Nellore Inscriptions:—*yavvaru* O. 17-2 (1227-28); *yavvaraina* D. 57 (1219-20).]

In Telugu, however, the interrogative neuters (singular and plural) are affected by analogy, and hence we have the vowel of the second syllable lengthened.

Thus beside *ēdāni* we have New Telugu *dēni*; beside *ēvāni* we have *vēni*. That the accent tended by analogy to change to the second syllable is seen by the length of the vowel in the second syllable of words like *ēvāḍu*, *evvāḍu*, *ēdāni*, *eddāni*, etc. It is also likely that *ēvāḍu*, *ēdāni*, etc., are formed by the influence of forms like *vāḍu*, *dāni*, etc.

The forms *dēni* and *vēni* are comparatively late forms. *vēṭi* though the regular oblique of *ēvi* is found only in the colloquial speech. The literary oblique is *ēvāni*.

ēvāni is very likely an extension of the masculine oblique form to the neuter declension. For *ēvāni* means not only 'of whom' but also 'of which (things).' *vēṭi* is the regular oblique of *ēvi*, having the accent on *ē*: compare Tamil *evar̠r̠*. The stem corresponding to *evar̠r̠*- in Telugu developed through **eveṭ*- and *$_{e}$*véṭ* into *vēṭ*-. *vēṭ*- takes the genitive ending -*i* and becomes *vēṭi*. (*r̠r̠* > *ṭ*, vide my thesis on Double Consonants).

Primitive Dravidian *ed(u)*.

- Non-Telugu—*etu* (= *edu*) Tamil; *ētu*, Malayāḷam; *yāvadu*, Kanarese.
- Telugu.
  - Old Telugu.
    - Nominative—*edi, eddi, ēdi, ēyadi, eyyadi.*
    - Oblique—*ēdāni, eddāni.*
  - New Telugu.
    - Nominative—*ēdi.*
    - Oblique—*dēni.*

Primitive Dravidian *evai*.

- Non-Telugu—*evai,* Tamil; *ēva,* Malạyāḷam; *yāva*, Kanarese.
- Telugu
  - Old Telugu.
    - Nominative—*evi, evvi, eyyavi, ēvi, ēyavi.*
    - Oblique—*evvāni* and *ēvāni*, also *vēni.*
  - New Telugu.
    - Nominative—*ēvi.*
    - Oblique—*vēni* and *vēṭi.*

(B) Words with an intervening liquid.

These are all non-pronominal words. The intervening liquids are *r*, *ṟ*, *ḻ*, and *ḷ*. These become in Telugu r or l—

ḻ > mostly *r*, sometimes *l.*

ḷ > *l.*

ṟ > *r.*

When one of these liquids intervenes between the vowel of the first syllable and the vowel of the second syllable, the vowel of the second syllable is first assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable and then by the accent shifting on to the second syllable, the vowel of the second syllable is lengthened with the simultaneous dropping of the vowel of the first syllable.

For instance—

eḻu (to rise) > **elé* > **ₑlé* > *lḗ*

ural (mortar) > **oral* (cf. colloquial Tamil) > **orol* > **ₒról*

>*rṓlu*, and so on.

Thus the law of vowel-lengthening in Telugu operates subsequent to the period of operation of the law of *a*-umlaut in Kanarese and Telugu (vide my Phonology, page 2).

The following table gives nearly all the words in Telugu with an intervening liquid:—

Tamil.	Malayāḷam.	Kanarese.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1. arai = to rub ..	arayuka	...	areñcuni.	rāyu, rācu
2. arayaṉ = a king ...	arayan ...	...	...	rēḍu ; rāyaḍu
3. irā = night ...	iravu ..	...		rē, rēi
4. iladi = a deer ...	...	...	eraḷe (?)	lēḍi
5. iḷa = tender ...	iḷa ..	eḷa ..	eḷe, lattu (< iḷadu)	lē
6. ural = a mortar ...	ural ...	oralu ...	...	rōlu
7. uḷam = in	uḷḷam ..	...	...	lōnu
uḷ ...	uḷ ..	oḷ, uḷ ..	uḷa ...	lō

Tamil.			Malayāḷam.	Kanarese.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
8. eḻu	=	to rise ...	eḻuka ...	eḻu, eḷu ...	ēḷege (n.). lakku (v.)	lē
9. kural	=	a sound (voice)	kural ...	koral ...	...	krōlu
10. turattu	=	to chase ...	...	..	...	trōcu
11. tuṟai	=	a way ..	tuṟa ...	toṟe ...	tara (?) ...	trōva
12. paḻa	=	old ...	paḻa ...	paḻa, paḷa, haḷa.	para ...	prā
13. maral	=	dizziness ...	maraḷ ...	maral = to turn back	...	mrālu (= to be fatigued); maralu (= to turn back)
14. maram	=	a tree ...	maram ...	mara ...	mara ...	mrānu; cf. mara [*oḍise* mara = wood of the oḍise tree. This compound preserves the older short form.]
15. meḻuku	=	to smear ...	meḻukuka	...	...	mrēgu
16. muraṭu	=	a stump of a tree	muraṭu ...	moraḍu ...	...	mrōḍu; moraḍu
17. muḻaṅku	=	to sound ...	muḻaṅṅuka	moḻagu ...	...	mrōgu (moragu = the barking of a dog)
18. viral	=	a finger ...	viral ...	biralu ...	bireḷu ...	vrēlu
19. varai	=	to write ..	varekka ...	bare ...	bare ...	vrāyu

The following chart is intended to exhibit, in a form which may be easily surveyed, the distribution of some of the important peculiarities common to several languages. The presence of a given peculiarity is indicated by a cross opposite the name of the language; and the circle intimates some reservation of that peculiarity.

Chart I.

—	First person singular nominative.						First person plural nominative.								Oblique singular and plural.							Verbal terminations.								
	ǣn.	ānu.	ēnū.	ñān.	nān(u).	nēnu.	ǣm.	āmu.	ēmu.	ñām.	nām.	nēmu.	Short plural.	Double plural with kaḷ.	en-.	nā-.	em-.	mā-.	nan-.	nam-.	Double plural oblique.	-en.	-ēn.	-an.	-ān.	-em.	-ēm.	-ām.	-am.	ŏm.
Tamil ...	+				+		+				+			+	+		+			+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
Malayāḷam.				+						O	+		+	+	+					+	+		+	+						+
Tuḷu ...	+						O				O		+	+	+		O			+	+	O							O	
Kanarese ...		+			+			+			+				+		+		+	+		+	O			+				
Kui ...		+						+								+		+					+		O			+		
Kōlāmī ...		+						+														O		+					+	O
Gōṇḍī ...																+		+						+						O
Kurukh ...			+						+		+				O		+			+			O	+		O			+	O
Malto ...			+						+		+				+		+			+		+				+				
Telugu ...			+			+			+			+				+		+						+	+			+		

REMARKS.

The copious material presented by the cultivated and uncultivated languages of the Dravidian group with regard to the pronouns and the pronominal terminations of the verb has been handled by Mr. Subbaiya with great care and with great thoroughness, and I feel that his treatment of this subject evinces a right feeling for the ways of language. But this is a subject beset with great difficulties and much more will have to be done before every problem which it presents is finally solved. One notes with great satisfaction the presence in this article of new ideas and suggestions. These are always welcome, even if they serve but as stepping-stones to higher or more accurate expressions for the laws that govern any particular set of linguistic phenomena. Some of these call for special notice.

Mr. Subbaiya adduces instances to show that in Dravidian a nasal at the end of a monosyllabic word beginning with a vowel may, after first nasalising the vowel, produce a nasal at the beginning of the word. The assumption of such a principle seems to me to be not unreasonable. But I feel that it needs to be pointed out that there is a very great number of words ending in a nasal in which no such initial nasal has been developed. The suggested principle has certainly very considerable limitations. According to the examples given (pages 21–22), for instance, no such phenomenon appears to be observable in Telugu or Kanarese. For this reason alone I should hesitate to consider such a principle, as Mr. Subbaiya does, a sufficient explanation of the origin of the initial nasal in the pronouns of the first person singular and plural. But, apart from this consideration, it is difficult on this assumption —unless it could be shown that they are chronological or dialectal variants, which, of course, is not impossible—to account for the existence of forms with an initial nasal and forms without side by side in one and the same language, as, e.g., *yām* and *nām*, 'we,' both in Old Tamil and in Modern literary Tamil. Moreover the assumption leaves unexplained the curious difference between the initial nasal of the singular (*ñāṉ*, 'I') and that of the plural (*nām*, 'we') in Malayāḷam. We should have expected both to show the same nasal, either *ñ* or *n*. The evidence as contained in Mr. Subbaiya's table of the pronouns of the first person in Dravidian (page 10), I would suggest, points to the plural as the source—or one of the sources—from which the singular received its initial nasal. The indication seems to be that at a certain period of the original Dravidian language there were two distinct pronouns of the first person plural (apparently an inclusive and an exclusive), one with and one without an initial nasal.

The double form in the plural appears to have produced a corresponding double form in the singular. That is to say, the originally unnasalised singular pronoun was supplemented (in those languages which show two forms) by a nasalised pronoun under the influence of the plural which possessed both a nasalised and an unnasalised form; for example, in Tamil, the form *nāṉ*, 'I,' I suggest, arose by the side of the form *yāṉ* under the influence of the pair *nām—yām*, 'we'. Such an innovation would be rendered all the easier (1) if the distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms in the plural had become blurred and (2) if the plural was frequently used, as it is in modern spoken Tamil, for the singular.

On the other hand I am quite in sympathy with Mr. Subbaiya's explanation of the initial *y* of *yāṉ*, 'I,' and *yām*, 'we,' in Tamil as developed out of an open *ē*, i.e., an *ē* whose pronunciation lies between that of close *ē*, (e.g. the long of the *e* in *get*) and that of *ā*. Old Bulgarian presents what appears to be a precisely parallel phenomenon. This language shows a prothetic *y* (better, *i̯*) before all palatal vowels; for instance, *yestŭ* corresponds to Lithuanian *ẽsti*, Sanskrit *asti*, 'is.' This prothetic semi-vowel, which is in the nature of an on-glide, is to be compared with what one finds in the pronunciation of palatal vowels in Dravidian, although in this case the semi-vowel is not (usually) expressed in writing. Now Lithuanian *ésti*, 'to eat,' is represented in Old Bulgarian by *yāsti*. Here, as in numerous other instances, an open *ē*, pronounced *i̯ē*, has passed into *ā* and carried with it the prothetic semivowel, thus producing *i̯ā*. Similarly it would seem that an original ** i̯ēṉ* in Tamil (cp. the termination of the first person singular in verbs) developed gradually into *i̯āṉ* (*yān*) in which the initial semi-vowel proper to the palatal vowel *ē* has been retained. Old Bulgarian certainly shows that such an explanation is phonetically possible. But we may go a step further. This explanation helps us not only to understand the relation between Tamil *yāṉ* and the corresponding Telugu *ēnu*, but it throws light upon all cases in which Tamil *yā-* is answered in Telugu by *ē-*, such as *yāṉai*, 'elephant,' by the side of Telugu *ēni-ka*, *yāṭŭ*, 'sheep' by the side of Telugu *ēḍi-ka*, 'ram,' etc. The solution which has been adopted by Mr. Subbaiya seems, therefore, not only possible, but highly probable.

It is dangerous to base the interpretation of the facts of language on solely phonetic considerations. Mr. Subbaiya's treatment of the termination of the first person plural in the verb, though it is ingenious and shows careful thought, is weakened to a large extent, in my opinion, by such a procedure. He argues on a priori phonetic possibilities without

making it clear, by means of parallel instances, for instance, that such phonetic possibilities have any right to be regarded as operative in the languages with which he is dealing. I refer to his explanation of the Modern Tamil termination of the first person plural in *-ōm*. Mr. Subbaiya would derive this from the termination *-ām* found in early Tamil, and in this I am quite willing to agree with him, and I agree, too, that this change may have been aided by the presence of final *m*. But if this is so, what are we to say to forms like *nām*, where no such modification of the vowel has taken place? The answer which I would give is that the *ā* of the suffix *-ām* is of a different nature from that of the pronoun *nām*. The latter, as Mr. Subbaiya points out, is in all probability a development of an original *ē*. I doubt very seriously whether a similar origin can be assigned to the *ā* of the termination *-ām*. One needs to show that such a change is not only theoretically possible (cp. Old English *móna* by the side of Gothic *mēna*, 'moon') but that it actually took place in other words or categories of words; or at least that it is not at variance with other phenomena presented by the language or languages concerned. Moreover it seems to me too much to demand that in Tamil the final *m* of the pronoun of the first person plural (like the final *ṉ* of the pronoun of the first person singular) should have induced an initial nasal, as Mr. Subbaiya suggests, but should have had no very potent effect upon the preceding vowel, and that the same final *m* in the termination of the first person plural of the verb should have changed the same (original) vowel into *ō*.† I admit that Mr. Subbaiya's endeavour to discover a basic unity underlying these expressions for the first person plural, not only in Tamil, but for the whole Dravidic group, is a laudable one; but I do not think that he has established his position. I am not prepared to offer a definite solution of this difficult problem. But one thing appears to me extremely probable, namely, that, as in the pronoun so in the verb, we have to see an original distinction—whatever confusion or simplification may have taken place later—between an inclusive and an exclusive plural. In early Tamil the termination *-ēm* was exclusive, as, indeed, one might have expected from its being the natural plural of the singular termination *-ēṉ*. The termination *ām*, on the other hand, is said by the grammarians to have been inclusive. The *ā* of this termination, I have already suggested,

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† Mr. Subbaiya, it is true, mentions the possibility of another phonetic factor, namely, the influence of other forms which show at an earlier period an *ō*-vowel; e.g., the third person singular in *-ōn* (masculine) and *ōl* (feminine).

was very different from the *ā* (derived from *ē*, or *ae*) of the pronoun *yām* (*nām*). I conceive it to have been very open, i.e. approximating to an *ō*-sound, and therefore passing readily into such a sound. Modern Tamil has entirely rejected the form within *e*-tonality, and it seems to me that the same selective principle has been at work throughout the Dravidic group. Kanarese has retained the *e*-form; Malayāḷam, like Tamil, the *o*-form only. Among the uncultivated members of the group the *a*-forms seem to prevail; the plural is here clearly differentiated from the singular, which shows prevailingly an *e*-tonality, but has retained only what I assume to be the earlier tonality of an original inclusive form. It is, of course, possible that the *e*-forms in early Tamil and in Kanarese may be relatively modern innovations formed on the analogy of the corresponding singular form. But since the earliest Tamil documents show both *a*-forms and *e*-forms in the plural, I cannot resist the interpretation that we are to see behind these variants an original difference of function, namely, as I would suggest, that the *e*-forms connoted the exclusive, the *a*- (or *o*-) forms connoted the inclusive plural. It need hardly be said that there remains much to be elaborated before any final solution of this problem can be arrived at.

Mr. Subbaiya's remarks on the special development of original *æ* (i.e., open *e*) in Telugu in connexion with these terminations seems to me on the whole satisfactory. But I hesitate to acquiesce entirely in his view of the *ā*-type of termination (page 36). In particular, in the case of forms like *koṭṭinānu*, *koṭṭināmu*, it should be borne in mind that Tamil seems to present exactly the same type. Any explanation of this type should make it clear why the ending of the first person singular is *-ānu* in Telugu (*pōyinānu*) but *-ēṉ* in Tamil (*pōyiṉ -ēṉ*). If *-a+aen* developed in Telugu, under the influence of vowel-harmony followed by the loss of *-a*, into *-an*, which then becomes *-ān* (pages 37–38), what, I would ask, were the influences at work in Tamil which caused the same *-a+aen* to apparently develop into *e-ṉ* and *-ēṉ*? It might, of course, be suggested that the difference of development is due to the absence of vowel-harmony in Tamil. This is not impossible, but I would point out that in early Telugu—and it must not be forgotten that these formations seem to go back to a great antiquity—vowel-harmony plays a very insignificant part. I feel, moreover, that one has little right to assume, without special comment and without adducing any parallel instances, that *-aṉ* in Tamil developed under (an assumed) stress into *-āṉ*. Mr. Subbaiya admits for the parent language the existence of emphatic and unemphatic forms side by side (page 31). I would suggest that

it is much more natural to assume that a full form should become weak than that a weak form should become full. Still, I will not deny the possibility of the latter change taking place.

Mr. Subbaiya's treatment of the oblique forms of the pronouns, in connexion with his 'law of vowel-lengthening in Telugu', seems to me to be distinctly a step in the right direction. I accept the principle adopted; but in some few cases I think the details need revision. For instance, it seems clear to me that Tamil *av-ai* (cp. Telugu *av-i*) by the side of *av-iṟṟŭ* points to a demonstrative base *av-*, such as one sees in Tamil *av-aṉ*. Mr. Subbaiya calls *av* the weak form of *av-ai* (page 41). I feel that this is not a correct view. I hesitate further—at least, at present—to regard the final *-a* of **æna-*, **æma-*, **ına-*, **ima-*, the original forms of the oblique bases of the pronouns of the first and second persons, respectively, according to Mr. Subbaiya, as a formative element (page 25). There is but little trace of any such formative element elsewhere. Nevertheless, even if some other interpretation of this *-a* has eventually to be adopted, I am strongly of opinion that at least the derivation of the oblique forms *nā* and *mā* of the first person singular and plural in Telugu (and elsewhere) from an original dissyllabic base, borne out as this suggestion is by so many parallel examples, will hardly be overthrown. I myself have been inclined to regard the form **ena-* (or **aena-*), preserved as it seems to me in such forms as Tamil *eṉa-kku*, as the base from which (according to difference of stress, as I imagine) both the nominative stem on the one hand (e.g., Telugu *ēnu*) and the oblique stem on the other (Telugu *nā*) developed. But I prefer to leave this and similar parallel suggestions with regard to the pronouns and verbal terminations for maturer consideration.

The oblique interrogative forms in classical Telugu *ē-vāni*, 'whose' (singular masculine) and *ē-dāni*, 'whose' (singular neuter), seem clearly to be new formations modelled on the oblique forms *vāni*, 'of him,' *dāni*, 'of it,' the necessity for such remodelling arising from the fact that the phonetically regular forms *vēni*, *dēni* had lost the vowel characteristic of the interrogative pronoun.

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